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OFFICE OF POPULATION CENSUSES AND SURVEYS

SOCIAL SURVEY DIVISION

## Crime, Criminals and the Law

by  
Mary Durant  
Margaret Thomas  
and  
H D Willcock

*A study of public attitudes and knowledge, carried out for the Home Office*

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## S U M M A R Y

### A. INTRODUCTION

1. This inquiry into the knowledge and opinions of the general public about crime, criminals and the penal system was originally undertaken for the Royal Commission on the Penal System and, after the dissolution of that body, was continued under the auspices of the Home Office. Continuity in the design of the enquiry was maintained through uninterrupted discussion at all stages with Dr Charlotte Banks, first as Director of Research to the Royal Commission, and later on behalf of the Home Office.
2. Sample. The sample was a two-stage random one, stratified by the Registrar General's standard regions, by type of area and by population density. 134 primary sampling units were selected from the full list of Local Authority areas in England and Wales, and 30 adult individuals from each of these units were chosen by taking names at a constant interval from a random start.
3. Response rate. 80% of the individuals selected were interviewed, and the fact that the Electoral register current at the time of interviewing was very much out of date contributed to an exceptionally high non-response rate due to change of address, death, etc.

Field work took place between 1st November and 30th December 1966.

4. Pilot work had shown that many people aged 70 and over were unable to sustain an interview as long as this one. Members of this age-group were interviewed only briefly, and the results have not been incorporated in this report.
5. Effective sample. The effective sample was one of 2864 individuals aged 21-69. However, the very wide range of topics which it was required to cover, made it necessary in order to reduce the duration of individual interviews, to the three different interviewing schedules, each including approximately two-thirds of the questions, and the classification section.

The number of persons asked any given question, therefore, approximates to two-thirds of 2864, but varies slightly with the combination of schedule-types in which it was included. With occasional exceptions the topics dealt with in each individual section of this report are all based on the same combination of schedules. The schedule-type to be used was randomly determined, the interviewer being told in advance which type to use with each named individual.

The interviewers' instructions are given in Appendix A, and the schedule sections in Appendix B. This appendix indicates which sections were used, and in what order, in each schedule.

6. Wide range of topics. This was an exceptionally wide-ranging inquiry, and attempts no more than to provide fairly general information on a great variety of topics. The decision to cover a very wide field relatively superficially rather than a narrower one more deeply, was a deliberated one, and was designed initially to provide general guidelines in relation to many of the topics falling within the terms of reference of the Royal Commission on the Penal System.

## B. COURTS

### Experience of courts

7. Just under half the sample had attended some kind of court, in some kind of capacity, on one or more occasions. About a quarter had been there just to see what was going on, one in five had been called as a witness, and 14% admitted to having appeared in court charged with an offence (mainly in a magistrate's court).

Of courts in England and Wales, about 15% had been to a higher court in session, and just over a third had been to a magistrate's court only.

8. About seven out of ten of the Managerial groups had attended a court at some time as compared with about four out of ten of all the other socio-economic groups, and this greater likelihood of experience extended to both types of court.

A higher proportion of better educated and older informants than of others had been in a court at all. The better educated were twice as likely as the less well educated to have had experience of a higher court, and men were twice as likely as women to have attended both types of court.

9. About a quarter of the Managerial groups and of Skilled manual workers said they had appeared in court accused of an offence, but only one in ten of White-collar workers and one in six of the Unskilled admitted to this.

As is to be expected, a much higher proportion of men than women had been a defendant (26% as opposed to only 2%).

### Some differences between magistrates' and higher courts

10. Wigs and juries. Informants were asked whether magistrates' and higher courts have juries and whether magistrates wear wigs.

In general quite a high proportion of the sample knew at least one of these more obvious differences between magistrates' and higher courts, and a fairly high proportion knew both. Nevertheless a surprising number of informants either did not know or were completely mistaken about these rather basic distinguishing features.

Eight out of ten informants claimed to know that a drunk and a robber would be sentenced at two different types of court, but even amongst those who did about one in five were unable to distinguish between them further.

Three quarters of the sample knew that magistrates' courts do not have a jury, and about the same proportion knew that magistrates do not wear wigs. Two thirds of the sample knew both these facts.

However about 15% thought that the drunk and the robber would both be sentenced at the same type of court; the same proportion thought that magistrates' courts do have a jury; and again about the same proportion thought that magistrates wear wigs.

11. Not unexpectedly, a higher proportion of the less well educated, the lower Socio-economic groups and women either gave the wrong answers or said they did not know; but about one in ten of the Managerial groups and the better educated thought that magistrates' courts have juries and about one in twenty of these same groups even thought that magistrates wear wigs.

And even amongst those people who said they had seen a magistrate's court in session, almost one in five did not know that magistrate's courts don't have juries and that magistrates don't wear wigs.

12. Most people knew that higher courts have juries but only one in three that in certain circumstances higher courts sit without them. Again, as might be expected, the Managerial groups, better educated informants and men were more likely than other people to know that higher courts sometimes don't have a jury - but about half of these groups thought they always do.
13. The disclosure of a man's previous convictions. It was clear that most people did not know for a fact, that a judge gets a confidential list of a man's previous convictions prior to the trial, and probably only a few knew that a magistrate is only told this after he has reached his verdict.

This question was no longer within the compass of informants' knowledge but was concerned with gathering their impressions. And in fact, whatever impression people had of the timing of this disclosure in one type of court, they were likely to think it happens at the same time in the other court.\*

14. The higher an informant's Socio-economic status and level of education, the more likely he was to think that neither the magistrate nor the judge is told about a man's record until after the verdict is reached. This suggests that responses may not just effect peoples' impression of what actually happens, but also be indicative of their idea of what ought to happen in order to ensure a fair trial in any court.

Conversely, the lower an informant's Socio-economic status and level of education, the more likely he was to think that both the magistrate and the judge are told about a man's record before any evidence is heard. It is possible that some of these informants thought it was natural for the police to reveal everything that was known about the accused before the hearing, and that they did not recognise that this was an issue that could affect the trial of his guilt.

The defendant - how much do people know and what impressions do they have about what happens to a man when he is charged with an offence and then has to appear in court?

15. There were only two questions on this matter which dealt with facts that people might reasonably be expected to know (and which, for their own sake, one would hope they would know, if it should happen they were charged with an offence) - the rest concerned people's impressions of what happens to most defendants, and their opinions of what might happen in circumstances they were asked to imagine.

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\* Analysis showed that the two correct answers (different for each type of court) were negatively correlated, while answers that were the same for each type of court were positively correlated and the correlations were fairly high (on average about .5).

16. The two factual questions concerned detention in custody prior to conviction and the availability of legal aid.

Most people knew that a man can be kept in prison before he is convicted and only about one in ten did not.

Most people also knew that a man can ask for legal aid, and less than one in ten thought everyone who was legally represented had to pay the fees themselves.

17. Unskilled manual workers and women were more likely than other people to think that a man cannot be kept in prison prior to conviction. And the proportion of Unskilled manual workers who did not know that a man can ask for legal aid rose to as high as a quarter.

What impressions do people have of how most defendants plead, whether most of them are legally represented and whether most of them obtain legal aid?

18. There was one general (and understandable) pattern of response which was common to people's impressions of both courts - if people thought most defendants plead not guilty, they also tended to suppose that most defendants are legally represented and that most of them obtain legal aid.

Otherwise, people's impression of what happens in higher courts was very dissimilar to their impressions of what happens in lower courts; and while there was a fair degree of unanimity about higher courts, people were sharply divided about magistrates' courts and there were major differences of opinion between different groups of informants.

19. Higher courts. About seven out of ten informants thought (wrongly) that most defendants in higher courts plead not guilty - and this false impression was most likely to be held by the Managerial groups, the better educated and men.

95% of the sample thought (rightly) that most defendants in higher courts are legally represented, and the great majority of all groups had this impression.

Seven out of ten (60% of the whole sample) of those informants who knew that a man can apply for legal aid, thought (rightly) that most defendants who are legally represented in higher courts, obtain legal aid.

20. Magistrates' courts. Half the sample thought most defendants in magistrates' courts plead guilty. But as many as four out of ten thought (wrongly) that most defendants in lower courts plead not guilty.

People were equally divided about legal representation and the granting of legal aid in lower courts. Just under half the sample thought that most defendants are not legally represented, but an almost equal proportion were under the false impression that most of them are. Again, amongst people who knew that a man can ask for legal aid, just under half thought that most defendants who are legally represented do not obtain legal aid, but about the same proportion were under the false impression that they do.

21. In general it was people of lower Socio-economic status, less well educated and older people and women who had a less realistic impression of what happens to most defendants in lower courts, while other groups generally tended to get nearer the truth.

This suggests that the better educated sections of the sample were more likely than other people to be aware of the less serious nature (and thus less serious consequences) of offences given summary trial.

22. Nevertheless the fact that even amongst these better educated groups, as many as one in three were under the impression that most defendants in lower courts plead not guilty to the less serious offences - coupled with the fact that these same groups were more likely than others to think that most defendants in higher courts plead not guilty - suggests that they may think that a plea of not guilty is a necessary part of the combat between the law on the one hand and the accused person on the other.

23. What effect do people think a plea of guilty has on a man's trial?  
In common with the question about the disclosure of a man's previous convictions, this question appeared to be a difficult one for informants to answer - for it received the highest proportion of don't knows in the whole Section on Courts, almost one in five of the sample.

Just under half the sample said that a man who pleads guilty is tried only for sentence. But as many as one in five thought there still had to be a full trial to prove his guilt, and the people most likely to think this were the better educated, the Managerial groups and men.

24. This reinforces the suggestion made in paragraph 22 that some of the better educated sections of the public may have a combat view of justice and may even believe in the existence of an 'ideal' system - whereby most defendants plead not guilty, and even if they do plead guilty, the onus is still on the prosecution to prove their guilt. ("A man is innocent until he is proved guilty")

25. In what way do people think a man's plea affects his sentence?  
44% of the sample thought that a man who pleads not guilty and is subsequently found guilty, would get a worse punishment than the man who pleads guilty in the first place.

The Unskilled and the less well educated were more likely to believe this, whilst the Higher managerial and professional group and the better educated were more likely to think that both men would get the same punishment. These differences, however, were not very marked.

26. Do the rich and poor offender have the same chance of legal representation?  
Just over half the sample thought that a well-off defendant would not stand a better chance of obtaining legal representation than a poorer one - and this impression of equality before the law was more likely to be held by the Managerial groups and the better educated.

But almost half the sample - in particular the Unskilled and the less well educated - thought that someone with money would stand a better chance of getting someone to defend him.

27. Opinion was much less evenly divided, however, about the effect of a defendant's financial status on his chances of getting a good lawyer to defend him. Nearly three quarters of the sample thought that a defendant with money would stand a better chance of getting a good lawyer.

The sentencing process and the sentencers

28. Only two questions were asked on which it was possible to make direct comparisons between informants' impressions of judges and their impressions of magistrates - but in both cases magistrates fared rather worse than judges in informants' estimation.

29. Do magistrates and judges give equal treatment to the rich and poor alike?  
The sample as a whole had more faith in the lack of bias of judges than that of magistrates.

About eight out of ten informants thought that judges would give the same treatment to the rich and poor offender, but just over a third thought that a man who was well-off would get better treatment at the hands of magistrates.

But while belief in the lack of bias of judges tended to decline in frequency with Socio-economic status and level of education, White-collar and Unskilled manual workers were more likely than other people to think that magistrates would give the same treatment to both rich and poor alike.

30. How variable do people consider the sentencing policies of lower and higher courts?

In general the sentencing policies of judges were thought less subject to variation than those of magistrates.

Two out of three informants thought that most judges would give similar sentences for similar offences, while just under a third of the sample thought that sentences do vary with the individual judge. And these proportions stayed fairly constant throughout the demographic sub-groups.

Different magistrates' sentences for similar offences, were thought to vary by nearly six out of ten informants - in particular by Higher managerial and professional people, three quarters of whom thought magistrates' sentences vary. Unskilled manual workers and White-collar workers on the other hand were the most likely to think that magistrates faced with similar offenders, would give similar sentences.

31. What attitude do people have to the variability of magistrates' sentences?  
Nine out of ten informants (i.e. 51% of the whole sample) who thought that the sentence depends a lot on which magistrate hears the case, thought this undesirable.<sup>(i)</sup> Two thirds (33% of the whole sample) of those who expressed this opinion considered that fixed sentences were the solution to the problem.

32. How much legal training do people think magistrates get? Just over half the sample thought that most magistrates get quite a lot or a fair amount of legal training (which probably means they thought this part of their qualification for the job adequate).<sup>(ii)</sup> But almost four out of ten thought they get very little or no legal training (which almost certainly means they thought it inadequate).

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(i) This question was not asked of those who thought that judges' sentences vary.

(ii) Many people's impressions of the amount of training "most magistrates" get are likely to have been formed on the basis of what they knew, or had heard, about courts in their own locality. Stipendary magistrates, unlike lay magistrates at the time of this inquiry, are required to have had legal training. Informants living in places where there are stipendary courts (certain large towns and cities) may consequently have formed a correct impression of the substantial amount of training in law received by stipendary magistrates, and (understandably though wrongly) have thought that the same applied to "most magistrates". Any such tendency would swell the numbers saying that most magistrates get "quite a lot" of training in law, and may partly account for the rather high proportion (30% of the sample) having this impression.

33. There were considerable differences of opinion about the adequacy of magistrates' legal training - particularly between the various Socio-economic groups and people with higher and lower levels of education.

Three quarters of Higher managerial and professional people and six out of ten of the better educated thought that magistrates get very little or no training in law, as compared with a quarter of Unskilled manual workers and a third of the less well educated.

34. What do people think magistrates need, apart from training in law, to help them pass the right sentence?

Only just over a third of the sample thought a magistrate needs nothing else apart from his legal training, to help him pass sentence. But just over half the sample thought that he does need something extra to help him to perform this part of his function.

35. Again there were considerable differences of opinion, particularly between the Socio-economic groups and people with different levels of education, about a magistrate's ability to perform his sentencing function without something other than legal training to assist him.

Over three quarters of Higher managerial and professional people and two thirds of the better educated thought he does need something other than training in law, as compared with just over a third of Unskilled manual workers and half the less well educated.

36. More than anything else people thought magistrates need to know more about ordinary people in order to be able to pass the right sentence. This was mentioned by almost four out of ten (20% of the whole sample) of this group - particularly often by the Unskilled, the less well educated and women. In fact the ability to pass the right sentence was thought to be a function of a magistrate's personal qualities as a man rather than of any training he might be given. Personal qualities of some kind were mentioned by 7 out of ten (38% of the whole sample) of this group, and some form of training was only mentioned by one in three (13% of the whole sample) of this group.

37. How representative of the community do people think magistrates are and how representative do they think they should be?

Just over half the sample thought that magistrates include well-off and not so well-off people about equally. But four out of ten thought they are nearly all well-off.

Despite the fact that the Unskilled and less well educated were most likely to feel that magistrates need to know more about ordinary people, they were no more likely than informants of higher Socio-economic status and the better educated to think that magistrates are nearly all well-off.

38. Six out of ten (23% of the whole sample) of those who thought magistrates are nearly all well-off, thought this should not be so, and most of these people thought magistrates should be more representative of the community at large either in terms of income or class-structure.

Almost nine out of ten (44% of the whole sample) of those who thought that magistrates already include the well-off and the not so well-off about equally, thought this was the way it should be.

39. Thus 61% of the sample thought that magistrates should be more representative of the community, as compared with 52% who thought they are now; and only 15% thought they should be nearly all well-off, as compared with 40% who thought they are now.

40. Do people think that the magistrate or judge is the right person to pass sentence?

Most people (8 out of ten of the sample) thought the magistrate or judge is the right person to pass sentence.

Almost one in five informants however did not think it was right for the magistrate and/or judge to pass sentence, but it was clear from the alternatives they proposed - mainly some form of collective responsibility, advice from experts or a standardised system of sentences - that most of them objected to the sentence being the arbitrary decision of one man.

41. Three quarters of the sample thought that the length of the prison sentence should always be fixed at the time of conviction rather than some time later, after a man has spent some time in prison. This was possibly partly due to the unfamiliarity of indeterminate sentences in English law, but probably mainly because most people felt that the magistrate or judge is the right person to decide on sentence, and the length of the sentence is thought to be part of that decision.

42. Even amongst the minority of informants who thought that the length of the sentence should sometimes be decided later, only about a third wanted to exclude the magistrate or judge from the decision altogether and leave it to expert observers such as the prison authorities or a probation officer. About 15% of this group thought the decision should be made by the magistrate or judge in conjunction with the prison authorities or a probation officer; but a further third of this group thought that even after a man has spent some time in prison, the decision on the length of the sentence should still be made by a magistrate or judge.

43. Thus despite criticism of the variability of sentencing policies, particularly those of magistrates; despite any suspected bias in the treatment of the poorer offender, again particularly by magistrates; despite the feeling of some informants that magistrates receive inadequate legal training; despite the fact that they are often thought to be insufficiently representative of the community as a whole - the magistrate or judge is seen by the great majority of people as fulfilling an essential role in the sentencing function.\*

#### Juries

44. Do juries give equal treatment to the rich and poor offender?

It was seen earlier that just over a third of the sample thought that the well off defendant would get better treatment from magistrates, and rather more than one in ten thought he would get better treatment from judges.

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\* It is possible that to some extent the judge was "shielding" the magistrate because the question about the right person to decide on sentence bracketed the magistrate and judge together.

Less than one in ten of the sample thought that the rich man would get better treatment from juries. 82% of informants thought juries would treat rich and poor alike, and 5% even thought juries might favour the poor.(i)

45. How frequently do juries make the right decisions about a man's guilt or innocence?

The sample was somewhat more likely to think that juries were unbiased than they were to consider they reached the right decision.

Seven out of ten informants thought they make the right decision always or nearly always, but almost a quarter only thought this happened in over half the cases that come before them.

C. PRISONS

46. The chapter is mainly concerned with what people think life in prison is like, the accuracy and extent of their knowledge, and their opinions about some of these conditions.

47. It was hoped that it would be possible to form scales, both from the knowledge questions and from the opinion questions, which would help to distinguish between ignorance and knowledge on the one hand, and punitiveness or liberal-mindedness on the other.

It was originally hoped to form "knowledge" scales and "punitive" scales from the knowledge questions and from the opinion question, but correlation matrices revealed very low correlations between "knowledge" items and almost equally low correlations between "punitive" items.(ii) Correlations between "knowledge" and "punitive" scores were also low. It seems likely that the original concept of personal punitive attitudes was to some extent misconceived. Internal evidence suggests that those expressing such attitudes may often be expressing a passive endorsement of what they believe (often falsely) to be the status quo. It also seems possible that "knowledge" often relates to knowledge of special cases or local conditions, or (for example) to knowledge of other institutions than prisons (e.g. hospitals). The formation of scales was not pursued, because it was felt that they would not add appreciably to the information gained from the distributions and cross-analyses shown in the text.

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(i) This question was also asked about the police, and while just under half the sample thought that the well-off and the poorer person would get the same treatment at the hands of the police, almost exactly the same proportion thought the police would treat the rich man better.

(ii) Apart from items similar in form such as: "The letters prisoners write are censored" and "The letters prisoners receive are censored" which are predictably highly correlated, the highest single correlation between any pair of knowledge items in the Prison Section is .23; and only three pairs of items have correlations greater than .20.

### The Knowledge questions

48. The low correlations between knowledge items suggest that although people may know (or guess correctly) the answers to some questions, this knowledge is fragmented and unspecialised, and they do not know very much about the subject as a whole. A further indication of this is the rather high proportion of "don't know" answers given to the knowledge questions. Nearly two-thirds of these questions produced more than 10% "don't knows" and just over a third produced a proportion of "don't knows" varying from 21% to as much as 44%.<sup>(i)</sup>
49. Prison conditions. The only questions about prison conditions that were answered correctly by the great majority of informants, required little more of them than common-sense.

At least three quarters of the sample knew that:-

- prisoners are allowed to talk to the man they share a cell with
- incoming and outgoing mail is censored
- compulsory exercise takes the form of walking round the prison yard.

50. Apart from a further question about other occasions when prisoners are allowed to talk to each other, less than half the sample were able to answer correctly any other question about prison conditions.
51. What misconceptions did people have about life in prison? Two kinds of misconceptions are possible - that life in prison is either easier or tougher than it really is. Only two of the misconceptions held by the majority of the sample were of the second type.
52. Most people thought prisoners are allowed only a limited ration of tobacco or cigarettes, and that most prisoners have to share a cell. (Half the sample thought that most prisoners share a cell with at least two other men).

Less than one in five informants knew that prisoners are allowed to smoke as much as they can afford,<sup>(ii)</sup> and only one in ten knew that most prisoners have a cell to themselves.

53. One further question showed equal proportions of the sample thinking that the regulations are more severe, and that the regulations are more lenient than they are in reality. This concerned the number of letters a man is allowed to write from prison.

22% of informants thought most prisoners may write more than one letter a week, and 22% thought they may write less than one letter a week.

Just over a quarter gave the correct frequency of one letter a week.

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(i) These percentages are particularly high considering the reassurance given to informants in the introduction to the Section, that the enquiry was interested in their general impressions, and as much concerned with their wrong ideas about prison life as in finding out how many people knew the facts.

(ii) It is possible that informants may have misinterpreted the question about smoking, because it did not contain the proviso "as much as they can afford out of the money earned by them in prison".

54. On all other questions, the proportion of informants who thought conditions or regulations are more easy-going than they are in reality, far outweighed the proportion who thought them tougher.
55. One in three informants thought most men are allowed to receive more than one letter a week, while less than one in five thought they may receive less than one a week.

Just under a quarter gave the correct frequency of one letter a week.

56. Just under half the sample thought most prisoners are allowed visitors more often than once a month, and only 1% thought visits are not allowed at all.

About four out of ten informants gave the correct frequency of once a month.

57. Just under a third of the sample thought most prisoners earn more than 10/- a week for any work that they do and only one in ten thought they don't get paid for it at all. However even amongst people who thought the weekly pay is more than 10/-, the great majority put it no higher than £2.

Just under a third of the sample gave a figure in the range that was considered acceptable - 10/- a week or less. (The actual weekly average for the year ending March 1965 was 5/1d).

58. Asked whether most cells are provided with proper flush lavatories, and, if not how men manage, it was of course impossible for anyone to have a more unpleasant impression of conditions than the truth - that men have to use a pail or pot in their cell. But a surprisingly high proportion of the sample (just under a third) said they thought most prison cells are provided with proper flush lavatories, and a further 5% thought that cells don't have lavatories but that "prisoners call or ring for a warder to take them to a lavatory outside the cell".

The correct answer was given by just over a third of informants.

59. Other impressions of prison life. Answers to questions about how a prisoner spends the twenty-four hours of each day, could not be related to any satisfactory norm because of the wide variation in practice between different prisons. Nevertheless they are important in building up a picture of people's impressions of life in prison.

According to over half the sample most prisoners get up between six and seven a.m. This cannot be considered a particularly rigorous regime, as it is probably not a great deal earlier than a large section of the general population, and is certainly no earlier than in a non-penal institution such as a hospital.

Again, over half the sample thought they work what is for most people a normal day of seven to eight hours. (But see para 57 above).

Leisure time in association with other prisoners, however, was thought to be restricted to two hours or less by just under half the sample.

Again, although just over a third of the sample thought prisoners are locked in their cells for little more than a night's sleep, just under half the sample thought prisoners are 'locked' for eleven hours or more.

60. How did different types of informants vary in their impressions of prison conditions and regulations? The majority of all types of informants knew about censorship, exercise, and that prisoners who share a cell are allowed to talk to each other.
61. People's impressions of a prisoner's day did not vary very much with their socio-economic status, level of education, age or sex.
62. Informants in all demographic groups shared the misconception that smoking is rationed.
63. In general the higher an informant's socio-economic status and level of education the more unpleasant his impression of the physical environment of prison (i.e. the more likely he was to say that most prisoners share a cell and have to manage with a pail or pot in their cell). Conversely he was more likely to have an impression of the leniency of the regulations about visitors and letters than a less well-educated informant or an informant of lower socio-economic status.
64. Women and older people were less inclined than men and younger people to have the impression of lenient regulations about visitors and letters.
65. The only consistent variation between different types of informants occurred in the 'don't know' answers. The unskilled, the less well-educated, the oldest age group and women, were, as is normally the case, more likely than other groups to say they did not know.

#### The Opinion questions

66. The opinion questions show that people's attitudes to prisons and prisoners tend to be somewhat self-conflicting. There are probably a number of reasons for this. Firstly people were being asked their opinions on a subject about which, in general they knew very little, and about which they had a number of misconceptions. Secondly, the particular aspects of prison life they were asked about - smoking, visitors, letters, jobs and pay - may well be things people don't feel very strongly about, although they may have strong feelings in other ways about how criminals should be treated.

This may partly explain the lack of success of the opinion questions in isolating punitive attitudes, as judged by the low correlations between answers that were designated as punitive. (c.f. para 67) It may also help to explain the contradiction between people's attitudes to specific issues and their overall attitude to the severity of prisons in general.

67. How did the majority feel about specific issues? On all issues the majority of informants appeared to endorse what they believed (whether rightly or wrongly) to be existing regulations, or what in one instance they were told in the question was the current policy.

Cross-analysis of people's opinions about the regulations governing smoking, visits and letters, by their impressions of existing regulations, showed that for the majority, whatever they imagined to be the status quo was acceptable.

68. Although many people did not know the true extent of financial aid available for prisoners' families, (and probably as a consequence nearly a third of the sample were unwilling to express any opinion about it) six out of ten of those who did express an opinion, said they thought that prisoners' families get about the right amount of help.

69. Informants were told that under existing policy most well-behaved prisoners serve only two-thirds of the sentence they're given in court, and were asked whether all prisoners should serve at least two-thirds of their sentence or whether some could be let out earlier under supervision. 51% of the sample thought the then existing policy was the right one. (But c.f. para 76).
70. 60% of informants thought that prisoners should be allowed to do the same jobs as men outside prison, but with much less pay. Although at first sight it might seem vindictive to deny a man the proper reward for his work, it is possible that this attitude reflects a realistic assessment of the labour-relations problems that might follow any drastic reappraisal of the job-pay situation in prisons, and could therefore be interpreted as a tacit acceptance of what is thought to be existing policy.\* (It will be remembered, that although they were not asked what kind of work prisoners do, most people thought they work a seven-to-eight hour day and get paid less than £2 a week).
71. In general this acquiescent or conformist majority cuts right across the socio-economic, educational, sex and age groupings - with the single exception of the question of aid to prisoners' families, which younger people were less likely than older people to consider adequate.
72. What were the minority views on these specific issues? On all these questions the liberal minority far outweighed the severely punitive minority.
73. About one in five informants thought the regulations about smoking should be more lenient than they thought they were; and only one in twenty thought they should be less lenient.
74. Between one in three and two in five thought the regulations about visits and letters should be more lenient than they thought they were and less than one in ten thought they should be less lenient.
75. Almost a third of the sample thought that prisoners should have proper jobs with normal rates of pay; and only one in twenty thought they should not even be allowed to do the same jobs as men outside prison. (However even amongst those who thought prisoners should get the normal rate for the job, the great majority of people did not think they should be allowed to dispose of their wages in their own way but should be made to contribute to the cost of their keep, help support their wife and family and save some for when they leave prison).
76. A very large proportion - nearly half the sample - said they thought that some non-dangerous prisoners could be allowed to serve less than two-thirds of their sentence provided they were adequately supervised.
77. What types of people predominated amongst these minorities? On some issues the better-educated and people of higher socio-economic status were more liberal than the less well-educated and those of lower socio-economic status; and on some issues men were rather more liberal than women. But age was the factor most closely associated with liberal-mindedness - people between 21-40 were consistently more liberal than older people.

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\* Footnote: It is also possible that these informants were assuming that the men would continue to receive 'free' board and lodging, and that it would therefore be reasonable to pay them less in wages. (Cf. para 33).

78. In general the small highly punitive minorities were not differentiated by socio-economic status, education, age or sex - except that the less well-educated, women and the oldest age group were more likely than others to give as their reason for depriving prisoners of even the dignity of productive work - "they have committed a crime and should be punished".

79. Were there any issues on which the consensus of opinion was tolerant rather than intolerant? Most people are aware of the problems and difficulties that face ex-prisoners, and recognise their need for community support - at least through official channels. 81% said that in particular they need help in finding a job.

Less than one in ten were so retributive or unconcerned that they said a man should be given no help at all when he leaves prison.

80. The concept of open prisons seems to be generally accepted. Nine out of ten informants had heard of them and the great majority of them suggested at least one type of offender whom they considered suitable for this kind of detention - mainly petty or non-violent offenders.

Only 2% of those people who had heard of open prisons said they didn't agree with them.

81. On most specific issues then, about which people were questioned, there was a conformist or acquiescent majority, a sizeable liberal minority and a very small highly punitive minority; and on two specific issues a very large body of tolerant opinion.

82. In the writer's opinion these results tend to imply a rather over-sanguine picture of public opinion about penal policy as applied to prisons, and to underestimate the degree to which people feel that physical incarceration alone is not punishment enough - even though being 'shut up' was most frequently mentioned as the one thing people said they personally would most hate if they were sent to prison. Some clue to this underestimation is given by people's overall attitude to the severity of prison life.

83. How did people feel in general about the relative laxity or severity of prison life? Just under half the sample said that on the whole they thought that prisons should be more severe (or strict) than they are now. A third thought they should stay the same; and only one in twenty thought prisons should be less severe.

84. Demographically there was very little difference between those who thought prisons should be more severe and those who thought they should stay the same - except that the former group contained a slightly higher proportion of less well-educated people.

The minority advocating less severe conditions, however, was better-educated, of higher socio-economic status and younger.

They were also consistently much more liberal than the others on all the specific issues of prison conditions about which they were asked, and about early release, aid for ex-prisoners and for prisoners' families.

85. However although people who thought prisons should be generally tougher were much less liberal than other people about specific issues, they were not more likely to contain the particularly retributive groups (for example those who thought ex-prisoners should not be helped, or that prisoners' families get too much help, or that prisoners should not even be allowed to do the same jobs as people outside).
86. It would seem then that quite a large section of the public feel that most criminals have too easy a time of it in prison; and comparison with questions in other sections of the study shows that people not only feel that a tough prison regime has no detrimental effect on the habitual offender, but may also act as a positive deterrent and stop him from breaking the law in future.
87. Quite in what way they think the prison regime should be made tougher is not at all clear from the data available. Controversial issues such as corporal punishment, solitary confinement and punishment diets were excluded from specific questioning; but in two sections of the study informants were asked open questions about other ways of stopping people breaking the law, or other ways of punishing the violent first-offender, and 28% of informants spontaneously said "Bring back corporal punishment".

#### Summary of conclusions

88. In general people are not very well-informed about what goes on behind prison walls. They have a number of misconceptions, most of which tend to indicate they do not think it too onerous an existence.
89. Although only a very small minority are punitive about specific issues, and there appears to be a sizeable body of liberal opinion, the majority appear simply to acquiesce in or accept what they believe is official policy.
90. Nevertheless, nearly half the sample feel that prisons are in general not severe enough.

#### D. SERIOUSNESS AND FREQUENCY OF OFFENCES

91. Seriousness. To obtain the opinion of informants on the seriousness of 18 offences, they were given a shuffled pack of 18 cards describing the offences, and asked to sort them into two piles:- one pile for those offences which they thought of as serious, and one for those which they thought of as not serious.
92. The offences fall naturally into three groups.

The first group consists of seven offences, all against the person, which between 86% and 99% thought were serious.

The second group consists of offences against property, which between 33% and 69% thought were serious.

The third group, consisting of other non-indictable offences with the addition of stealing by finding, includes the offences which the lowest proportion, less than one-third, thought were serious.

93. The question closely follows the form of one used by Dr. Charlotte Banks in her research among boys in borstals and detention centres and young prisoners\*. A similar procedure was deliberately followed in order to obtain comparable data from a sample of the general population. Where the description of offences does not differ or differs only marginally, the distribution of responses from the general population sample and the convicted boys tends to be very similar.
94. There was not a great deal of difference in the answers given by different groups of the general population. They agree very closely on whether offences against the person are serious. However, the distribution of opinion differs between groups on whether some of the other offences are serious.
95. A higher proportion of women than men thought that being drunk and disorderly, fighting, and deliberately damaging property were serious.
- The offences which a higher proportion of men than women thought were serious were all offences against property (stealing without violence, house-breaking and taking away a motor vehicle without the owner's consent).
96. There was a tendency for most offences to be regarded as serious by a higher proportion of those with higher education. The exceptions to this were being drunk and disorderly, fighting, and vagrancy, all of which a higher proportion of those in the lower education group regarded as serious.
97. These three offences were also regarded as serious by a higher proportion of those in the lower socio-economic groups than others.
98. A higher proportion of each of the older age groups (age 41 and over) than others regarded being drunk and disorderly as serious.
- A higher proportion of those age 31 and over than of younger people regarded housebreaking and taking away a motor vehicle without the owner's consent as serious.
- Stealing (without violence) was regarded as being serious by a higher proportion of each age group under 31 than by those age 31 or older.
99. Housebreaking was considered serious by a higher proportion of those living in conurbations than other areas. However, a lower proportion living in conurbations than others thought that being drunk and disorderly, deliberately damaging property, and fraud were serious.
100. Informants who admitted to personally travelling on the railway, bus or tube without paying were less likely than others to think that this was a serious offence. Similarly, informants who admitted to personally taking something from work which they weren't really supposed to, were less likely than others to think that stealing by finding was serious.
101. Relative frequency. After having given their opinion on the seriousness of the 18 offences, informants were handed a second pack of 10 cards which described 10 of the same offences again.<sup>(1)</sup> They were asked to arrange these cards in order starting with whichever offence described on the cards they thought the largest number (rank 1) are accused of in court and going down to the offence which they thought the smallest number (rank 10) are accused of.

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\* Dr. Charlotte Banks, "Borstal, Prison and Detention Centres" in "Changing Concept of Crime and its Treatment" (edited and introduced by Hugh J. Klare). Pergamon Press, London 1966, pp. 117-138.

(1) But combining housebreaking and factorybreaking on one card.

102. The mean rank of each offence was calculated. On average, the mean rank given to each offence by informants differed from the truth principally in the following ways:-

Informants had a somewhat incorrect impression of the relative frequency of three offences in particular. These were: robbery with violence, factory and housebreaking, and cruelty to children. People tended to think that relatively more people are accused of each of these three offences than actually are.

Informants also tended to have the impression that relatively fewer people are accused of deliberately damaging property and fraud than actually are.

103. Compared with women, men thought that relatively more people are accused of factory and housebreaking and taking away a motor vehicle without the owner's consent.

Women compared with men thought that relatively more people are accused of sexual offences against a child under 13 and murder.

104. Younger compared with older informants thought that relatively more people are accused of being drunk and disorderly and fighting.

105. Among the socio-economic groups, those in the higher compared with the lower groups thought that relatively more people are accused of factory and housebreaking.

The non-manual compared with the manual workers tended to think that relatively more people are accused of being drunk and disorderly and fighting.

However, the lower socio-economic groups compared with others thought that relatively more people are accused of committing a sexual offence against a child under 13, and murder.

A higher proportion of unskilled manual workers than others thought that relatively more people are accused of robbery with violence and cruelty to children.

106. Similar differences occur in the ranks given to the offences by informants with higher and lower education, as the differences in ranks given to the offences by informants in the higher and lower socio-economic groups.

107. As the later findings confirm (c.f. Chapter E), when we examined the frequency with which three selected offences of violence to the person (murder, robbery with violence and committing a sexual offence against a child under 13) were ranked between 1 and 5, more of these offences were given these ranks by women, the lower socio-economic groups, and the less well-educated.

E. THE INCREASE IN CRIME AND POSSIBLE WAYS OF REDUCING IT

Change in the Incidence of Certain Crimes

108. Informants were asked whether they thought the number of each of six selected indictable and non-indictable offences committed had increased "quite a bit" in the past few years, had not changed much in frequency or had decreased.
- The selected offences were - robberies with violence, murders, sexual offences against children under 13, fights, thefts, and breakings.
109. The majority thought that the number of cases of all except one of these selected offences had increased appreciably in recent years. The exception was fights. This was the only one of the selected offence which more than a very small minority (1%-2%) thought had declined in frequency.
110. The proportion who thought that the number committing each of the selected crimes (except fighting) had increased "quite a bit" in recent years was compared with the actual change in the number of cases known to the police between 1963 and 1965.
111. Between 75% and 87% thought the number of robberies with violence, breakings and enterings, thefts without violence, and murders had increased "quite a bit", whereas the actual number of these offences known to the police increased by between 11% (murders) and 5% (robberies with violence). A majority (51%) thought that the number of sexual offences against children had increased "quite a bit" whereas the actual number known to the police had declined slightly.
- It seems that the majority of people had the impression that crime in general was increasing, but had little idea which particular offences were becoming more frequent.
112. Women were much more inclined than men to think that the number of murders had increased appreciably. This belief was also particularly prevalent among people over 50 years old, those in the lower socio-economic groups, and the less well educated.
113. The belief that sexual offences against children under 13 had increased appreciably in frequency was again much more often found among women than among men and was also particularly prevalent among young people (aged 21-30), those in the lower socio-economic groups, and the less well educated.
114. Men were marginally more inclined than women to think that each of the offences against property (robberies with violence, breakings and enterings, and thefts without violence) had increased "quite a bit". This, by comparison with younger people, was also true of informants aged over 30.

The proportion thinking that the number of breakings and enterings had increased "quite a bit" was much higher among the older than younger informants. This belief was particularly prevalent among the higher managerial and professional group (S.E.G.1) who were also more prone than others to think that robberies with violence had increased.

Fewer unskilled manual workers (S.E.G.5) and informants in the lower education group than others thought that theft without violence had increased.

The Detection of certain crimes

115. For each of the six selected offences, informants were also asked - "For how many of the cases the police get to know about, would you say someone is found and accused in court - nearly all; or more than half; or less than half; or very few?"

116. About a third thought that nearly all murders and sexual offences against children under 13 ended in prosecution.

Slightly fewer (27%) thought that nearly all robberies with violence ended in prosecution. However the proportion who thought that more than a half of such offences ended in prosecution was higher than the proportion with this opinion about either of the other two crimes of violence (murder and sexual offences against children under 13).

Opinion about fighting was mixed. Just over a quarter thought that nearly all fights ended in prosecution but about a fifth thought that very few fights ended in prosecution.

The majority thought that less than a half or very few breakings and enterings, and thefts without violence, ended in prosecution.

117. For each of the selected crimes, the proportion which informants thought ended in prosecution was compared with the actual number of cases cleared up in 1965, expressed as a percentage of the number of cases known to the police in that year.

The comparison showed that many informants had a completely wrong impression of the proportion of cases of each offence which were cleared up.

118. Men were appreciably more inclined than women to think that less than a half of all offences against property ended in prosecution.

The proportion thinking that nearly all breakings and enterings and thefts without violence ended in prosecution increased systematically between S.E.G.1 and S.E.G.5.

119. More informants in the lower than higher education group thought that very few fights ended in prosecution.

#### Some Possible Ways of Reducing Crime

120. Informants were asked to say whether they thought that implementing each of seven statements suggesting some possible ways of catching more of the people who break the law would make a lot of difference; some difference; a little difference; or no difference to the number of people breaking the law.

121. The suggestion which was most widely and strongly favoured was that crime would be reduced if "first offenders and petty offenders were kept in separate prisons from hardened criminals."

Nearly as strongly favoured as a means of reducing crime was the suggestion that the "public guarded their property more carefully".

The statements which informants next most frequently thought described effective methods of reducing crime concerned changes in the size of the police force; methods used by the police; and the allocation of police time.

Informants least frequently thought that it would make a difference to the number of people breaking the law if "there was less about crime on TV, and in films, papers and books," and if "the shops did not display their goods so openly."

122. The distribution of opinion frequently differed among various groups of the population on the effect which implementing these last two suggestions would have.

123. A higher proportion of women than of men; of older than of younger informants, and of those in the lower than in the higher education group thought that it would make a lot of difference to the number of people breaking the law if there was less publicity about crime, and if there was less temptation put in people's way by the shops not displaying their goods so openly.
124. Men were more inclined than women to think that it would make a lot of difference if the police force improved their methods of catching people who had broken the law.
125. With one exception ("if the public guarded their property more carefully") the youngest age group (21-30) was less inclined than others to think that any of the suggestions would make a lot of difference.

#### F. THE CAUSES OF CRIME

126. Ten statements were derived principally from the pilot data, describing some possible cases of crime which were spontaneously mentioned by the general public at this stage of the survey.
127. Informants were asked whether or not they considered that each of these ten statements described one of the causes of crime. If they thought that a statement did describe one of the causes, they were then asked whether it described one of the main causes.
128. Statements about getting something for nothing, getting rich quick, seeing other people getting away with breaking the law, and the decline of parental authority were endorsed most frequently.
129. Also endorsed fairly frequently were the statements that "people are persuaded to buy things they don't really need and can't really afford," and "there are many people working in boring jobs who can't find enough to do in their spare time."
130. Although the decline of parental authority was endorsed by a high proportion as being one of the causes of crime, the decline of other traditional forms of authority, the school and religion were endorsed much less frequently.
131. Endorsed least frequently were statements about the effect of war or the anticipation of war i) war was an excuse for violence in everyday life, and ii) the fear of war leading to a decline in moral behaviour.
132. It is possible to summarise the content of the ten statements under a number of headings such as "the decline of traditional forms of authority (parental, religious, school);" "the get rich quick aspects of the acquisitive society;" and "the demoralising effect of war and the threat of war".
133. In order to test the hypothesis that public opinion tends to crystallize around any or all of these theories, scores representing informants' endorsement or non-endorsement of each statement as representing a main cause of crime were intercorrelated.  
  
All the statements intercorrelated positively. However, the level of most correlations was very low.
134. The matrix of correlations was subjected to a cluster analysis.

Although the replies of informants did not follow any very systematic pattern, it was possible to discern some faint clusters. These represented the "decline of traditional forms of authority" theory and the "get rich quick" theory. The remaining statements fell into a further ill-defined cluster.

135. The opinion of men and women on the causes of crime were very similar.

However, more women than men thought that the main causes of crime are the effect of people working in boring jobs with a lack of creative leisure, and being persuaded to buy things which they don't need and can't afford.

136. Opinion differed between younger and older informants on whether crime can be attributed to the decline of the traditional forms of authority (parental, the school and religion.)

Opinion among informants under 41 years old was fairly similarly distributed on whether the decline of parental authority and authority in the school were the main causes of crime. However, each of these statements were endorsed by increasing proportions among the two older age groups.

That the decline of religion was one of the main causes of crime was endorsed by only 7% of those under 31 years old, compared with twice as many (about 14%) of those age 31-50, and 23% of those over 50 years old.

137. There was a general tendency for the lower compared with the higher socio-economic groups, and also for those in the lower compared with those in the higher education group to think that more of the statements described main causes of crime.

In particular, a greater proportion of the lower than higher socio-economic groups thought that the main causes of crime related to various aspects of the acquisitive society, and to the decline of parental authority. There were similar differences between those in the lower and higher education groups.

138. There was only one statement which a greater proportion of any of the higher than of the lower socio-economic groups thought described one of the main causes of crime. This was the decline of religion. More of the higher managerial and professional (S.E.C.1) than any other socio-economic group thought that this statement described one of the main causes of crime.

#### G. CHARACTERISTICS OF HABITUAL OFFENDERS AND MEANS OF REDUCING THEIR NUMBERS

139. Informants were questioned about fifteen possible characteristics of habitual offenders, who were described to them as "men who keep on breaking the law, and being convicted and punished more than once". Each characteristic was rated on a five-point scale according to whether the informant thought it applied to nearly all habitual offenders; to more than half; to less than half; to very few; or none of them.

140. A majority of the sample (54% - 68%) expressed the following opinions:-

i. that the majority of habitual offenders:-

- give no thought to the harm they do
- are too lazy to do an honest day's work
- make their living out of crime.

ii. that very few habitual offenders, or none of them:-

- are mentally unbalanced
- are unintelligent

141. The description most often thought to apply to nearly all habitual offenders (by 39%) was that they give no thought to the harm they do.
142. The description most often thought to apply to no habitual offenders at all (by 45%) was that they are unintelligent.
143. Four characteristics, listed below, were attributed to the majority of habitual offenders by 40% to 46% of the sample, though none of them were attributed to "nearly all" by more than 18%.
- They live among criminals.
  - They can't fit into everyday life.
  - They have family difficulties or no settled home.
  - They are too easily led.
144. The size of the proportion attributing a given characteristic to the majority was not predictive of the overall distribution of opinion. The first two of the above descriptions were attributed to the majority of offenders, and to very few or none, by about equal proportions. The third was attributed to a majority and to a minority with about equal frequency. The fourth was the one most often believed to be true of at least some habitual offenders and, marginally, most often believed to apply to the majority.
145. The bipolar distribution of opinion about the description "They live among criminals" was particularly marked. Forty-five per cent thought this true of the majority of habitual offenders; 35% thought it true of none; and a further 5% thought it true of very few. This result is speculatively interpreted as suggesting two opposing views of the nature of the habitual offender, who some may visualise as usually an accomplished professional criminal who stands aloof from the "underworld", and others may see as one of the many of whom it is composed.
146. The similar, though less marked,\* bipolar distribution of opinion about the description "They can't fit into everyday life" also suggests a majority tendency to think of habitual offenders in extreme terms - as either usually, or as very rarely, the sort of people who mix in "normal" society.
147. Each of the two remaining characteristics among the four listed - "They are too easily led" and "They have family difficulties or no settled homes" - were thought by more than 80% to apply to at least some habitual offenders, the former being more often attributed to the majority than to the minority, and the latter slightly more often to the minority.
148. Four descriptions were thought to characterise very few habitual offenders or none at all between 44% and 49% of the sample. These were:-
- They turn to crime because they feel they must rebel against something.
  - They feel they were never given a proper chance in life.
  - Their parents did not bring them up to know right from wrong.
  - They turn to crime because they get themselves into debt.

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\* i.e. less often attributed to no habitual offenders at all (by 25% compared with the 35% who said that no habitual offenders lived among criminals).

149. Between one-half and two-thirds of the sample said of each of these descriptions that it characterised either the majority of habitual offenders, or none at all; and in each instance the proportions expressing these two extreme opinions were almost identical. Between about a third and a half in each case thought the description characterised only a minority, but many of these thought it applied only to very few.
150. These four characteristics have in common that each refers to a past experience; it is possible that some people may think of such experiences as true causes, but others as mere "excuses" for embarking on a life of crime. This might account for the rather high proportions holding extreme opinions.
151. Two further characteristics were each thought by about equal proportions (40% or rather less in each case) to refer to the majority, and to very few or none.

- They do things for the excitement of it - for kicks.
- They easily lose control of themselves.

152. Each of these descriptions indicates a lack of self control, and the sharp division of opinion may be the outcome of opposed views about the way crimes are initiated by habitual offenders.
153. The tables showing the analysis by demographic variables used in this and the next two sections of the report were simplified, but without disguising differences of opinion between sub-groups of the population. This was done by combining the "nearly all" and "more than half" points on the scale to form "the majority", and the "less than half" and "very few" points on the scale to form "the minority".

Differences commented on here in the summary were all views of at least 5%.

154. A much greater proportion of the less well educated than others thought that the majority of habitual offenders are too lazy to do an honest day's work. This opinion was also held among more of the unskilled manual workers (S.E.G.5) and those over 30, than others.

The better educated and those other than unskilled manual workers were less inclined to think that this was a characteristic of any habitual offenders.

155. The managerial and professional groups (S.E.G. 1 and 2) less often than others thought that the majority of habitual offenders make their living out of crime.
156. Men were considerably more inclined than women to think that the majority of habitual offenders live among criminals. Women were more inclined to think that this did not apply to any habitual offenders.
157. More of the higher socio-economic groups and older informants, particularly those over 50, thought that the majority of habitual offenders come from families where their parents did not bring them up to know right from wrong.

158. Appreciably more of the lower socio-economic groups and the less well educated thought that the majority of habitual offenders do things for the excitement of it; for kicks. This belief was also held by more of the youngest age group (21-30) than those over 30, and by many more women than men.
- Those over 30 and the better educated were less inclined to think that this was characteristic of any habitual offenders.
159. Rather more women than men thought that the majority of habitual offenders turn to crime because they feel they must rebel against something. This view was less often held by the managerial and professional groups (S.E.G. 1 and 2) than others.
160. Many more women than men thought that the majority turn to crime because they get themselves into debt.
161. The managerial and professional groups (S.E.G. 1 and 2) and the better educated more often than others thought that the majority of habitual offenders are unintelligent.
162. More of the better educated than the less well educated thought that the majority of habitual offenders are mentally unbalanced.

#### Reasons for becoming habitual offenders

163. Informants were asked about each of seven statements, "Do you think this is true of any men who keep on breaking the law after they've been in prison?". If they thought that a statement was a true description they were then asked "Do you think this is true of nearly all; or more than half; or less than half; or very few of them?".
164. Six of the seven statements were thought to be reasons why at least some offenders continue to break the law after they have been in prison by between 74% and 86% of the sample.
165. The exception was "They find prison life so tough it changes them for the worse" which was the most frequently rejected of the seven statements. Only 43% thought this applicable to any habitual offenders and two-thirds thought it applied to very few or none.
166. The most widely accepted of the seven suggested reasons for men becoming habitual offenders was that "In prison they mix with other criminals and come to accept crime as a way of life". This was thought to apply to the majority by 54%, and to very few or none by 22%.
167. Next most frequently accepted was that "They just don't think about the risks when they commit a crime". Fifty-four per cent also thought that this applied to the majority, but 30% thought that it applied to very few or none.
168. The statement that "They don't mind being in prison because they get used to it" in addition to the statements mentioned above (in paragraphs 166 and 167) was thought by about one-quarter to apply to nearly all habitual offenders. However, although it was thought to apply to the majority by 46% of the sample, it was also frequently thought to apply to very few or none (36%).
169. Opinion was very widely distributed about the extent to which each of the three remaining reasons were applicable.

170. Of these reasons, the following two were rather more frequently attributed to the majority (42-44%) than to very few or none (34-35%).

- They're made that way: they're the sort of people nothing can stop.
- They are not accepted by ordinary people when they come out of prison so they turn to crime again.

171. The remaining reason which was attributed by equal proportions (38%) to the majority, and to very few or none was

- They don't mind going to prison because they make a lot of money out of crime in between prison sentences.

172. The lower socio-economic groups were appreciably more inclined to think that the majority of habitual offenders "just don't think about the risks when they commit a crime". This opinion was also held among more of the less well educated and women than others.

173. Many more of the lower than higher socio-economic groups and the less well educated thought that the majority of habitual offenders "are made that way: they're the sort of people nothing can stop". This view was also held by more of the older informants than the young and by more women than men.

174. A higher proportion of women; those over 40; the less well educated and the lower socio-economic groups thought that the majority of habitual offenders "don't mind being in prison because they get used to it" and "make a lot of money out of crime in between prison sentences".

Means of reducing the number of habitual offenders

175. Informants were asked whether they considered each of six statements described a method which would induce today's habitual prisoners<sup>(1)</sup> to give up breaking the law. If they thought that a statement did describe such a method, they were then asked "How many habitual prisoners do you think this would stop breaking the law in future - nearly all; or more than half; or less than half; or very few?".

176. Of the six suggested means of reducing the number of habitual prisoners, two were thought by a small (51-54%) majority of informants as likely to affect the majority of prisoners favourably. These were

- If prisoners were trained during their prison sentence for a job they wanted to do when they came out.
- If prison life was made harder (tougher).

177. Two measures were rejected by the majority (60-74%) as unlikely to stop any habitual prisoners from breaking the law in future. These were

- If prison life was made more interesting.
- If they were dealt with in a different way instead of being sent to prison.

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(1) Note that this question refers specifically to habitual "prisoners" as distinct from the habitual "offenders" referred to in the earlier part of the chapter.

178. The idea that longer prison sentences would stop habitual offenders from breaking the law was rejected by 47% as unlikely to affect any, and by a further 6% as likely to affect very few. However, as many as 34% thought longer sentences would stop the majority from breaking the law in future, including 15% who thought such sentences would stop nearly all.

It would be tendentious to interpret these results purely in terms of a widespread belief in harsh punitive measures. The expectation of longer sentences may be regarded as a deterrent rather than their application as punitive, and the concept of exemplary sentencing may have been in the minds of many (but c.f. paras 202-3).

179. Appreciably more of the lower than higher socio-economic groups thought that the majority of habitual prisoners would be stopped from breaking the law if "prison sentences were made longer" and if "prison life was made harder". These views were also held by a much greater proportion of the less well educated than the better educated.

The higher socio-economic groups and the better educated were more inclined to think that these measures would be unlikely to affect any habitual prisoners.

Women more frequently than men thought that the majority of habitual prisoners would be stopped from breaking the law if "prison life was made harder".

180. The view that the majority of habitual offenders would be stopped from breaking the law if "they were trained during their prison sentence for a job they wanted to do when they came out" was held by a greater proportion of women than of men; and by more of the manual workers and the less well educated than others.

181. A greater proportion of the less well educated than the better educated, and of women than men, thought that the majority of habitual offenders would give up breaking the law in future if "they were given more advice and help to prepare them for life outside prison".

#### H. SENTENCING; GENERAL AIMS; SPECIAL CIRCUMSTANCES; WAYS OF DEALING WITH FIRST OFFENDERS

##### PURPOSE OF SENTENCING

##### Importance of some purposes of sentencing

182. Informants were asked about each of seven statements describing purposes of sentencing "Do you think this is one of the things they should be trying to do?" Those who agreed that a particular statement did describe one of the purposes of sentencing were then asked "Do you think this is very important or only fairly important?"
183. The statements fell into two groups. The four statements in the first group, which were each agreed by the very great majority (94-97%) to be one of the aims of sentencing were
- to put the criminal himself off committing crimes again
  - to make criminals pay what they can for the suffering and loss of earnings they have caused when they injured people
  - to make criminals pay what they can for any loss of property or damage they have caused
  - to reform criminals (make them go straight) by helping them and teaching them how to lead an honest life.
184. Each of these statement was considered by only 3-5% not to be a legitimate aim at all, and by 77-84% to be a very important aim.

185. The second group consisted of the three remaining statements which were less frequently agreed to be one of the aims of sentencing, and much less frequently said to be "very important":-

- to show other people what would happen to them if they broke the law
- to make criminals suffer for what they have done
- to look after people's property or safety by locking criminals away.

These aims were rejected outright by 14-20% (compared with 3-5% of the items in the first group). They were considered very important by 42-58% (compared with 77-84% of the items in the first group).

186. It can be concluded that the four items which were most frequently held to be of importance, described aims specifically directed towards the reform of the criminal or the compensation by him of his victim.

Much less frequently considered to be very important were three statements which described the aims of sentencing in terms of suffering inflicted on the criminal, or of the general effect of the sentence on persons other than the criminal himself.

187. Older people more often than younger ones thought the following aims were very important: compensation of the victim by the criminal (both for injury etc. and for loss or damage to property); locking criminals away to protect people's safety or property; and making people suffer for their crimes.
188. Younger people more often than older ones thought rehabilitation very important (i.e. "helping criminals and teaching them now to lead an honest life").
189. Women more often than men thought rehabilitation very important.
190. Those in the lower education group more often than those in the higher said that each of the "punitive" aims was very important; and that compensation by the criminal for injury etc. was very important.
191. Trends similar to those noted for education were found when SEG's 4 and 5 were compared with other groups.
192. However those in SEG 5 (but not in SEG 4) included a higher proportion than any other group of people saying it was a very important aim of sentencing "to show other people what would happen if they broke the law".

Most important purpose of sentencing

193. All informants except those who did not agree with any of the seven suggested purposes of sentencing were asked "which one of these do you think is the MOST important thing to think of when deciding on the punishment to give criminals?"
194. The highest proportion (34%) said that the most important of the suggested aims was "to reform criminals (make them go straight) by helping them and teaching them how to lead an honest life".

The generalised aim - "to put the criminal off committing crimes again" was much less frequently named (by 13%) as the most important purpose.

However, one or other of these aims referring to reformation or rehabilitation was considered to be the most important by nearly half the sample.

195. Second most frequently selected as the most important aim of sentencing was compensation by the criminal for injuries he had inflicted on his victim (23%). Compensation for damage to, or loss of property was much less frequently selected (9%).

One or other of the two items relating to compensation was selected by about one-third, as the most important aim of sentencing.

196. The infliction of suffering on the criminal, and sentences "to show other people what would happen to them, if they broke the law" were each named by only 8-9% as the most important aim.
197. Only 2% said that the most important aim should be to protect society by locking criminals away.
198. Differences in the distribution of opinion among sub-groups of the population on which of the suggested aims should be the most important were negligible or unsystematic except for the following two items:-

Women, younger informants, the better educated, and those other than unskilled manual workers more often than others thought that the most important purpose should be to reform criminals by helping them and teaching them how to lead an honest life.

Older informants, the less well educated, and manual workers were more inclined than others to think that the most important consideration should be to make criminals pay for suffering or loss of earnings they have caused when they injured people.

This view was also held by slightly more men than women.

Should criminals pay in cash or work themselves on repairing damage to property?

199. All informants who thought that one of the purposes of sentencing should be the compensation by the criminal for damage to property were asked "Do you think it would be best to make them pay in cash, or, where possible, to put them to work themselves on repairing the damage?"
200. About a half thought that the criminal should be put to work himself on repairing the damage. Just over a third thought that he should pay cash. (The remainder qualified their answers or did not know).
201. A much higher proportion of men thought that the criminal should pay cash, whereas many more women thought that the criminal should be put to work himself on repairing the damage.

Relative importance of punishing severely and understanding why a man has broken the law

202. In answer to the question "Do you think that: men who have broken the law should be punished severely as an example to others, or that the most important thing is to understand why a man has broken the law and think of the effect the punishment would have on him?" - just over two-thirds replied that the most important thing was to understand why a man has broken the law.

Nearly a quarter thought that he should be punished severely as an example to others.

203. More men than women, and a slightly higher proportion of those over than under 40, thought it more important that criminals should be punished severely as an example to others.
204. Women, more often than men and those under 40 more than older people it was more important to understand why a man has broken the law.

Special factors which might be taken into account when sentencing criminals

205. To find the opinions of the general public on whether there are any factors in otherwise identical cases which should be considered as either aggravating or extenuating circumstances and should therefore lead to particularly severe or particularly lenient punishment, fourteen different pairs of situations were described to informants.
206. They were asked about offenders in each pair of situations "Should both get the same punishment, or should one get more, the other less?"
207. This question wording was found in the majority of cases to evoke single responses. However, on average 4% gave dual responses - i.e. they said that "the offender in case A should receive the greater punishment and the offender in case B should receive the lesser".

It would have been a mistake to eliminate dual responses entirely, since in some instances it is quite reasonable to think that both of the circumstances described should have a direct influence on the sentence.

208. In presenting the results two methods of calculation were used.

- (1) To describe the overall picture we looked separately at those thinking that the circumstances described should not affect the penalty; those thinking that given circumstances should lead to more punishment; and those thinking that given circumstances should lead to less punishment.

Double responses were included in these figures.

- (2) To present the demographic analyses in a less cumbersome way, the proportions saying that A should be punished more than B and that B should be punished less than A were added, giving a total representing the overall proportion implying that A should end up with the greater punishment. (The reverse procedure gives the total implying that B should end up with the greater punishment.)

Double responses were eliminated from these analyses.

209. Each pair of situations is commented on below.

The first six items describe differences in circumstance which a large majority of people thought should influence the penalty in some way.

210. Mental unbalance. Only 11% said that this should not affect the sentence at all.

It was however frequently said spontaneously (by 36% of the sample) that the mentally unbalanced should receive a different sort of punishment from the person that was not mentally unbalanced. This view was expressed by more of the higher socio-economic and education groups than others.

Only 2% said or implied that the mentally unbalanced offender should receive the greater punishment.

211. Provocation. Lack of provocation was thought of as an aggravating circumstance considerably more often (47%) than provocation was thought of as an extenuating circumstance (32%).

Those in the higher socio-economic groups and the better educated were much more inclined than others to think that the offender who was not provoked should get the greater punishment of the two.

212. Previous convictions. As many as 20% said that an offender's previous record should not influence the penalty at all. The substantial majority (61%), however, thought that previous convictions were an aggravating circumstance, while 24% thought of the absence of previous convictions as a mitigating circumstance.

The youngest age group (21-30) and those in the lower education group were less inclined than others to think that the offender with a record of previous convictions should get the greater punishment.

213. Defenceless victim. Seventy-eight per cent thought that if the victim of a non-sexual attack was an old person or child this should lead to more punishment than if the victim was someone able to defend himself.

Of all the variables discussed this was the one most frequently thought of as an aggravating circumstance, particularly markedly by the older informants.

214. Stealing necessities. Forty per cent thought of it as an aggravating circumstance if the thief could afford to buy the necessities which he stole, while 28% thought of it as an extenuating circumstance if he was too poor to buy them.

About a third said that an offender who stole necessities which he was too poor to buy should receive the same penalty as one who could afford them.

Older informants and the less well educated more often than others thought that the thief who stole necessities which he could afford should get the greater punishment.

215. Premeditation. More than half (56%) thought of it as an aggravating circumstance if the crime was premeditated, but only 12% thought of it as a mitigating circumstance if it was not premeditated.

Just over a third said that the penalty should not be affected by whether a crime was planned beforehand or done on the spur of the moment.

216. Each of the remaining eight items describe differences in circumstance which a majority (ranging between 62% and 93%) thought should not influence the penalty at all.

217. Amount stolen. Sixty-two per cent said that in the case of theft, the penalty should not be influenced by the amount stolen.

Thirty per cent thought that a large amount stolen was an aggravating circumstance, but only 8% thought that it should be an extenuating circumstance if the amount stolen was small.

218. Job changing. Nearly two-thirds said that whether an offender had changed his job a lot or had kept a steady job should not affect the penalty.

The remainder were fairly equally divided between those saying it should lead to more punishment if the offender had changed his job a lot (14%), and those saying that it should lead to less punishment if he had held a steady job (18%).

A substantially greater proportion of older informants, those in the lower education group, and unskilled manual workers than others, thought that an offender who had changed his job a lot should get the greater punishment.

219. Family background. Two-thirds said that whether the offender came from a happy family or had no family or friends and was brought up in an orphanage, should not influence the severity of the punishment. Having no family was more often considered as an extenuating circumstance (17%) than coming from a happy family was considered an aggravating one (11%).

Many more of the older than younger informants thought that an offender from a happy family should get the greater penalty of the two.

220. Whether stolen articles are easy to take or well protected. Not only did the great majority (70%) think that ease of access to stolen goods should have no influence on the penalty, but very few of the remainder thought that easy access should be regarded positively as an extenuating circumstance (7%). Many more thought of it as an aggravating circumstance if the thief managed to steal articles which were well protected (20%).

221. Whether victim is rich or poor. About 4 out of 5 thought that whether a victim of theft was rich or poor was not a relevant consideration in sentencing, and a great majority of those who thought that it was relevant looked upon it as an aggravating circumstance if the victim was poor (19%) rather than a mitigating circumstance if he was rich (2%).

Rather more of those over 50, the less well educated, and manual workers, than others thought that a thief who stole from a poor person should get a greater penalty than one who stole from a rich person.

222. Criminal background. About 8 out of 10 said that whether or not an offender came from a criminal family should have no influence on the penalty.

Ten per cent thought it was an aggravating circumstance if the offender came from a criminal family, while 2% thought it was an extenuating circumstance if the offender was from a non-criminal family.

More of those over 50, unskilled manual workers and the less well educated than others thought that an offender from a criminal family should end up with the greater punishment.

223. Theft from big store or small shop. Ninety-two per cent said that it should not affect the severity of the punishment whether a theft was from a big store or from a small local shop.

Those few who thought these circumstances should influence the sentence, tended to think of it as an aggravating circumstance (5%) if the victim was a small shopkeeper rather than a mitigating one if the victim was a large store (1%).

224. Damage to private or public property. Ninety-three per cent said that it should not influence the penalty whether damage affected private or public property. The few who thought these circumstances should influence the penalty were more inclined to think of it as an aggravating circumstance if the property damaged was private (4%), rather than an extenuating one if the property damaged was public (less than 0.5%).

#### DRIVING OFFENCES

##### Whether punishment should be worse to dangerous driver or attacker

225. Informants were asked to say which offender should get the worse punishment in two cases in which people had been seriously injured. Their injuries were stated to be the same. One person was knocked down by someone driving a vehicle dangerously, the other was attacked in the street.
226. Nearly 4 out of 10 thought that the person who attacked someone in the street should get the worse punishment, and nearly 2 out of 10 thought that the dangerous driver should get the worse punishment. Forty-three per cent thought that the dangerous driver and attacker should have an equally severe penalty.
227. Women, those in the lower socio-economic groups and the less well educated more often than others thought that the dangerous driver should get the worse punishment.
228. Men and the better educated were more inclined than others to think that the attacker should get the worse punishment.
229. Nine per cent of the whole sample favoured a much worse penalty for the dangerous driver, while 24% favoured a much worse penalty for the attacker.

##### Whether drunken driver or sober attacker should get the worse punishment

230. After it was stated that the dangerous driver was drunk, but the attacker not, 23% of those who originally said that the attacker should get the worse punishment, thought that the driver should get the worse punishment.
- Among those who originally said that there should be the same penalty for both the dangerous driver and attacker, nearly half (46%) thought that if the driver was drunk he should get the worse punishment.
231. Stating that the dangerous driver was drunk and the attacker sober had the effect on the whole sample of increasing from 18% to 47%, the proportion who said that the dangerous driver should get the worse punishment.

#### HOW TO DEAL WITH FIRST OFFENDERS

232. Informants were asked about seven possible "ways of dealing with people who have been found breaking the law for the first time in cases where they have not injured anyone".

For each of the methods which they thought should apply to any, they were asked "Should it be nearly all; over half; less than half; or very few?"

233. When asked about first offenders who HAVE NOT INJURED ANYONE most informants (95% or more) thought that at least some of these offenders should be given advice or help in finding a job; made to compensate their victims (where applicable); or given a warning that they will certainly go to prison (or borstal) if they commit an offence again. Just over three-quarters thought that nearly all of them should be dealt with in these ways.

234. The next highest proportions thought that some should be -

fined(78%)

warned by the police but not taken to court (68%)

told to report regularly to the police (59%)

Forty-five per cent thought that nearly all of them should be fined; and approximately a third thought that each of the last two methods was a way of dealing with nearly all of them.

235. Only 29% thought that any should be sent to prison, borstal or "somewhere like that"; and less than 1 in 10 thought that nearly all of them should be dealt with in this way.
236. Differences in the distribution of opinion within different groups of the population on ways of dealing with first offenders who have not injured anyone, were mostly very slight, but the following tendencies were apparent.
237. Women, older informants, the less well educated, and those in the lower socio-economic groups were more inclined than others to think that nearly all first offenders who have not injured anyone should be told to report regularly to the police.
238. More women than men, and older compared with younger informants thought that nearly all of them should be warned by the police but not taken to court.
239. A greater proportion of those in the higher socio-economic and education groups thought that the way to deal with nearly all of them was to give any advice they need or help in finding a job.
240. To reduce the duration of the interview, no similar battery of questions was asked about the appropriate means of dealing with first offenders who had injured someone. Open questions showed that about four out of five thought a different penalty appropriate if the offender had injured someone. For reasons explained in the text, the results in general were not reliable and are difficult to evaluate. It was clear, however, that many people favoured sentencing a first offender who had injured someone to prison etc. who would not favour such a sentence for any first offender who had not inflicted injury. Fifteen per cent spontaneously suggested corporal punishment.

#### Fines

241. When asked "On the whole do you think that fines (in general) should be bigger than they are now, or smaller, or about the same?" nearly a half of all informants said that they should be bigger, about a quarter said that they should remain the same, and only 1% said that they should be smaller.

Other replies were that fines should be standardised (3%), or that they should be increased for some offences and/or decreased for others (14%).

I. ATTITUDES TO SELF AND TO "MOST PEOPLE" AS POTENTIAL LAW BREAKERS

A note on method and meaning of responses

242. This part of the research is largely concerned with informants' expressed beliefs about their own and "most people's" proneness to break some laws, and the main thing which restrains them and others from law-breaking.
243. The aim was to obtain responses which were indicative of the way people would talk of themselves, and of the majority of other people, in normal conversation. There was no reason to suppose that informants would distort their spontaneous opinions about other people during an interview. They might, however, tend to describe themselves personally in what they believed to be a favourable light, both in conversation and in a formal interview. This natural tendency might be more marked in an interview with a stranger than in conversation with friends and acquaintances.

An attempt was made to reduce any such distortion peculiar to the interview situation by asking informants for their opinions about "most people" before asking them similar questions about themselves. This ensured that those who described themselves as different from most others were aware they were doing so. For those who had already described the majority in what they believed to be an unfavourable light, to describe themselves in the same way was only the equivalent of saying "I'm like most other people". It was thought that this approach would make it easier for informants not to distort their feelings about themselves, while leaving it open to those who thought of themselves as different from the majority to imply this clearly without being directly questioned about it.

Proneness to break some laws

244. Informants were asked to imagine they were having a conversation about crime, during which one person said "I would not normally break the law however likely it seemed I would get away with it", and another said "I might break some laws so long as I thought I would get away with it". They were asked first, which of these two people they thought, on the whole, most people were like, and after some intervening questions, which one they thought they themselves were like.
- In subsequent comment we refer to the first person as "law-abiding" and to the second as "prone to break some laws".
245. 61% of the sample identified most people as prone to break some laws and 38%(1) as law-abiding.
246. The position was reversed when people described themselves, 67% identified themselves as law-abiding, and 33% as prone to break some laws.
247. The 67% who identified themselves as law-abiding included 37% who also identified most people as law-abiding. The remaining 30% identified most people as prone to break some laws, thus presenting themselves as "better" than most others.
248. All but 2% among the 33% who identified themselves as prone to break some laws said this was also true of most people.

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(1) 1% gave no opinion.

249. Differences within demographic groups were relatively slight in respect of their views about "most people".
250. Men and women differed very markedly in their assessment of themselves. 4% of the men but only 24% of women identified themselves as prone to break some laws.
251. The two younger age-groups (42% and 43%) were much more inclined than the two older groups (31% and 25%) to identify themselves as prone to break some laws.

It is noteworthy, however, that there was no difference in this respect between those aged 21-30 and those aged 31-40.

252. The professional and managerial groups and skilled manual workers were more inclined than others to identify themselves as prone to break some laws (SEG 1+2 40%; SEG 4 43%; others 31-34%). This trend is consistent with the greater tendency for those in the higher education group (40%) than for those in the lower group (31%) to identify themselves as prone to break some laws.

Admission of two selected offences by those who identified themselves as law-abiding

253. Many of those who identified themselves as law-abiding readily admitted that they had in fact broken certain laws at some time. All informants were questioned about two illegal acts, which were purposively selected as likely to be more socially acceptable than most offences, and which were introduced as "things that some people don't really think of as law-breaking at the time they do them". These were: "taking anything from work that you weren't strictly supposed to" and "travelling on the railway, bus or tube without paying".
254. The overall proportion who admitted having taken something from work (32%) was almost identical with the proportion (35%) who had already said they might break some laws if they thought they could get away with it, and they were very similarly distributed within the demographic groups. But they were frequently not the same people.
255. Half of those who admitted taking things from work had previously said they would not normally break the law (15% among 32%). A further 17% did not admit taking things from work, but had already said they might break some laws if they thought they could get away with it.
256. Nearly half admitted having travelled by public transport without paying. They were distributed within demographic group in a rather similar way as those discussed above. More than half of them had previously said they would not normally break the law (25% out of 46%); but 12% who had previously said they might break some laws also said they had never travelled without paying the fare.

257. In summary:-

- a) 33% identified themselves initially as the sort of person who might break some laws.
- b) 32% readily admitted having taken things from work.
- c) 49% either admitted this or had already said they might break some laws.
- d) 46% readily admitted having travelled without paying the fare.
- e) 58% either admitted this or had already said they might break some laws.
- f) 56% admitted one or both of the two specific offences described.
- g) 63% admitted one or both of these offences and/or had already said they might break some laws.

258. In the context of this research it was thought undesirable to ask people more than these two token questions of a specific nature about their own unlawful acts. Their responses, subject to no kind of pressure, make it clear that very many of those who represent themselves as law-abiding people readily admit exceptions.

259. If informants were trying to please or deceive the interviewer by describing themselves as law-abiding, they might be expected to continue the deception when questioned superficially about specific offences. That so many so readily admitted exceptions suggests that those who described themselves as law-abiding and others as prone to break some laws would tend to adopt the same attitudes in normal conversation.

The main thing that stops most people from breaking the law

260. Informants were asked open-ended questions (i.e. questions in which possible alternative answers were not prompted) about what they thought was the main thing that stopped most people/they themselves from breaking the law. As before the question referring to most people was asked first, so that those who described themselves as different from others knew they were doing so.
261. A full analysis of responses is given in the text, but it was found that the great majority (96% for "most people"; 95% for "self") could readily be grouped into two categories: those who referred to "inner feelings" (conscience, upbringing etc) as the main thing which stopped them from breaking the law and those who referred to external, legal restraints (the fear of getting caught, legal consequences such as the possible penalty, the social consequences of detection such as having to appear in court, publicity, personal disgrace etc).
262. 34% said that most people were stopped mainly by their inner feelings, and 64% by legal restraints.(1)
263. When they spoke of themselves, the distribution of opinions was reversed. 64% said that they personally were mainly stopped by their inner feelings; 31% by external legal restraints.(1)
264. Differences within demographic groups tended to be less marked when informants were giving their opinion of "most people" than when they were speaking of themselves.

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(1) The remainder either gave responses not classifiable in this way or could not generalise.

265. The most pronounced difference in both contexts was that between different age groups. Those aged 21-30 included 72% who said that most people were stopped mainly by legal restraints and 44% who said this was the main restraint on themselves. The corresponding figures for those aged 31-40 were: most people 67%; self 35%; and in each of the two older groups they were: most people 57-58%; self 26%.
266. Men (37%) were much more inclined than women (26%) to say personally they were stopped mainly by legal restraints, but there was no difference between the sexes in their opinion about "most people".
267. There were no differences between the attitudes expressed by those of higher and of lower education.
268. Those in SEG 3 - i.e. non-manual ("white collar") workers-were less inclined (27%) than others to say that they personally were mainly stopped by legal restraints. The contrast was greater with both groups of manual workers (38% and 35%) than it was with those in SEG 1 or 2.
269. Persons now living in conurbations (35%) rather more often said that they personally were stopped mainly by legal restraints than did those living in other types of area (29-31%).

Restraints in relation to proneness to break some laws

270. Informants fell into three groups of fairly similar size in relation to their combined attitudes towards themselves and others as potential law breakers:
- A. Those saying that neither they nor most people would normally break the law.
  - B. Those saying that most people might break some laws, but they themselves would not.
  - C. Those saying that they themselves might break some laws (nearly all of whom said the same was true of most other people).
271. Group A were nearly equally divided between those saying that most people were stopped mainly by their inner feelings, and by legal restraints, respectively. In the other two groups the great majority said that most people were stopped by external, legal restraint (B: 66%; C: 73%).
272. Group C were nearly equally divided between those saying that they themselves were mainly stopped by their inner feelings and by legal restraints, respectively. In the other two groups the great majority said that they personally were mainly stopped by their inner feelings (A: 75%; B: 70%).

Court appearance and sentence

273. If they were caught by the police breaking the law the majority (54%) said they would worry more about having to appear in court than about the sentence they might get. 25% said they would worry most about the sentence, and 15% that both would worry them equally. The remaining replies mostly referred to the social consequences of a court appearance, rather than to the sentence and these are grouped together with "court appearance" in subsequent analyses.
274. Demographic analyses showed that in each demographic group, except the youngest age group, a majority said they would worry more about having to appear in court than about the sentence they might get.

275. The proportion saying they would worry most about the sentence they might get declined steeply with age - from 40% of those aged 21-30, through 32% and 25% of the two subsequent 10-year age ranges, to only 14% of those aged over 50. Other demographic differences were comparatively small.
276. Those who had said they personally might break some laws (Group C above) more often felt they would worry most about the sentence (32%) than did either of the two other groups (21%; 24%). But the majority even of those who said they themselves might break some laws (55%) felt that if they were caught breaking the law, having to appear in court would worry them more than thinking of the penalty.

#### J. VICTIMS OF CRIME: MEMORABLE AND UPSETTING INCIDENTS

##### Method

277. This part of the research has a limited aim consistent with the limited time available in a wide-ranging interview; and a sample size appropriate for such an interview rather than one intended to show the incidence of events such as victimisation among the population.
- To find out from victims about the total incidence of unreported crime, a sample much larger than the present one would have been required, since the time span over which memory is likely to be fairly reliable is short, and people who have been victims of any given serious crime within a quite short period before interview will form a very small proportion of the whole.
278. This section centres on what may be described as "memorable victimisation", that is on those offences of which the informant himself, a relative, or someone he knows well was the victim, and which he recalls without difficulty.
279. The method of questioning used to elicit information on victimisation is described in detail in the text. People were questioned about offences they recalled of which either they personally were the victim or one of the victims; of which they were not a victim but a relative was; and of which neither they nor a relative were victims, but someone else they knew well was.

Victimisation (for any given offence) was thus attributed only to the informant if he was one of the victims, and there were no double-entries for the same offence. But if more than one type of offence was committed in the course of the same incident (e.g. if a house was broken into and one or more people in the house were attacked) each offence within the incident was attributed to the appropriate victim, with the same order of priorities (informant; relative; other person well known to informant).

280. One important purpose of questioning people about offences of which someone close to them (but not they themselves) was a victim was to prepare their minds for later questioning about the most upsetting incident of victimisation they recalled, which could well be one in which they witnessed the effect of victimisation on someone else rather than being a victim themselves.

##### Experience of victimisation

281. Nearly a third remembered at some time having had something stolen from them, slightly less than a half of this number (14%) said they had personally been a victim of housebreaking etc. Eleven percent recalled having had something deliberately damaged, and the lowest proportion (6%) remembered having been attacked by someone. Five percent remembered having been a victim of some other offence.

In all, 45% of the sample recalled themselves being a victim of one or more types of offence.

282. Many more than said they personally had been a victim of housebreaking etc. (14%) recalled one or more occasions on which a relative (25%) or friend (26%) had had their house broken into.
283. Rather fewer than the 31% who recalled personally having been a victim of theft remembered an incident in which a relative (24%) or friend (18%) had had something stolen.
284. Similar proportions recalled having themselves (11%) had something deliberately damaged, and one or more occasions in which a relative (7%) or friend (7%) had been a victim of these two crimes.
285. Differences in the proportions saying, respectively, that they themselves and their relatives and/or friends had been victims may be in part attributable to the extent to which people talk about different types of offence and the impression their accounts make on others. In the case of housebreaking it may be surmised that some people with relatives or friends who were victims may have been living in the house concerned at the time, but being neither the owners or tenants and not having had any of their own property stolen, were not personally a victim of any offence.
286. As one would expect, a much greater proportion of those in the higher socio-economic and education groups than others, and more of those now living in conurbations than other areas, recalled having personally been a victim of housebreaking. The proportion exceeded a quarter in each of the two managerial and professional groups.
287. Those in the higher socio-economic groups and the better educated more often than others recalled having had something stolen.
- This was also true of many more men than women, and many more of the youngest age group (21-30) than others.
288. A much greater proportion of men, and those in the higher socio-economic and education groups than others recalled having had something deliberately damaged.
289. More men than women, and slightly more of the youngest age group (21-30) than others recalled having been attacked.

#### Unreported crimes recalled

290. Those who recalled being the victim of theft or deliberate damage remembered on average, a slightly greater number of occasions on which they personally had been a victim of these two crimes than those who recalled having been attacked or having been a victim of housebreaking.
291. Housebreakings were much more frequently (90%) reported to the police than any of the other three crimes (38-42%).
- #### The most recent victimisation recalled
292. It is important to remember that the most recent occasion on which the informant was personally a victim of some offence, frequently took place several years before the interview.

293. Ten percent of the whole sample recalled having themselves been the victim of some offence less than 12 months before the interview. However, because of selective recall this figure is very likely to underestimate the true annual incidence of victimisation of those aged 21-69. Nor does it take into account the fact that some people are likely to have been victimised more than once in a year.
294. Six out of ten of all those who were personally a victim of some offence reported the most recent (or only) incident to the police.
- Fewer of those in the lower socio-economic groups and the less well educated than others reported the incident to the police.
295. The proportion of cases in which the (most recent) victimisation was not reported to the police varied greatly with the nature of the offence:-

Deliberate damage to property	61%
Theft (not during housebreakings, etc.)	44%
Attack	44%
Housebreaking	15%

296. The main reasons given by the victim for not reporting the incident to the police were that they were away from home or on holiday (36%); it was not serious enough (33%); there was no point in pursuing the matter (12%); they wanted to deal with the matter privately (10%).
297. Eighty-three percent said that the offender in the most recent (or only) incident in which they were a victim was not taken to court.

#### Upsetting incidents

298. All those who recalled any instance of victimisation, either of themselves, relatives or friends, were asked whether they found any incident particularly upsetting at the time.
299. About two-thirds said that something about an incident was particularly upsetting to them.
- Of these, half said that they themselves were the victim. One-third said that the victim was a relative, and about 16% said that it was a friend.
300. Twenty-eight percent said that the shock was the worst thing about the incident, and a further 22% mentioned other things which had an element of shock or fright (surprise; resulting feeling of insecurity; meanness of the offence, etc.). Thus half felt the most upsetting thing about the incident was shock rather than material loss, damage etc.
- A fifth thought that the most upsetting thing was the loss or damage suffered.
301. Many more women than men, and older than younger informants felt that the shock was the most upsetting thing about the incident.

302. Just over three-quarters said that the police got to know about the incident, nearly always because someone reported it to them.
303. In cases where the police did not get to know about the upsetting incident the main reasons given were that the victim felt there was no point in pursuing the matter (24%); it was not serious enough (20%); that the victim wanted to deal with the matter privately (19%); or did not want to get someone else into trouble (13%).
304. The informant (who was, of course, not necessarily a victim himself) had no idea who the offender was in rather more than half the upsetting incidents. In about a third he knew, and in a further 11% he suspected someone.
305. Of those who either knew who the offender was or suspected someone, 4% said that it was a relative of the victim.
306. In nearly 3 out of 10 of the upsetting incidents, the offender was caught; usually by the police or by someone who handed him over to the police, but 2% of upsetting incidents were known to have resulted in the offender being caught and not handed over.
307. Nearly two thirds of all offenders in upsetting incidents who were caught were known to have been taken to court and found guilty.
308. Of those who knew what happened to the offender, opinion was fairly evenly divided between those who thought that he got what he deserved, and those who thought that he got less than he deserved.

Upsetting incidents in which something was stolen

309. In 64% of the upsetting incidents something was stolen.
310. Of the nine out of ten who were able to give the approximate value of the stolen goods, the substantial majority (61%) said that they were worth £25 or less. One-third said that they were worth less than £5.
311. In about a half of the cases in which the 'most upsetting' incident included theft, it was known that cash was stolen.  
In over a quarter of these cases it was known that some of the cash was savings.
312. In just over a quarter of the "most upsetting" incidents which included theft, it was known that something of sentimental value was stolen.
313. In 19% of the thefts, the victim got some of the property back.
314. Twenty-eight percent said that some of the stolen property was insured.  
In about two-thirds of the cases in which it was known that the property was insured, a claim was made to the insurance.  
In 36% of cases the victim got most or all of the value of the property back.  
In 17% of cases the victim got a good deal less.  
In 3% of cases the victim got nothing back.  
In 15% of cases the informant did not know the result of the claim.

Upsetting incidents in which someone was injured or attacked

315. In 21% of the upsetting incidents someone was injured or attacked.
316. Six out of ten of these victims suffered only from shock or minimal injuries.
317. Only 16% of the victims were detained in hospital for more than one night.
318. Seven percent said that the victim got some money in compensation, either from the offender or from his own insurance.

Fear of crime

319. When asked which one crime they most feared might happen to them, the highest proportion (30%) said that they were afraid of violence in general. A further 7% said that they were afraid of violence in the course of robbery.
320. The remainder said that they were afraid of -
- |   |       |
|---|-------|
| murder/violent death                      | (12%) |
| robbery or theft without violence         | (10%) |
| sexual assault                            | ( 8%) |
| being knocked down or killed by a vehicle | ( 3%) |
| some other crime                          | ( 1%) |
321. Twenty-nine percent said they were not afraid that any crime would be committed against them.
322. Few thought that, in reality, there was a high chance of the crime which they most feared actually happening to them.
323. Women more often than men said that they were afraid of violence in general.
324. A much higher proportion of the youngest age group (21-30) than others said they were afraid of being the victim of murder or some other form of violent death.
- More of those under than over 40 said they were afraid of being sexually assaulted.
325. Men, and those over 50, were much more inclined than others to say that they were not afraid they might be the victim of any crime.

Relative importance in cases of theft of catching the criminal or getting the stolen property back

326. Informants were asked "In cases of theft, which do you think is more important - for the police to catch the criminal, or for them to get the stolen property back, or do you think both are equally important?"
327. About a third thought that it was more important to catch the criminal. Only 3% thought it was more important to get the stolen property back. 62% thought that both were equally important.
328. A greater proportion of those in the higher socio-economic and education groups than others, and slightly more women than men, thought that it was more important to catch the criminal.
329. Those under 40 more often than those of 40 and over thought that catching the criminal and getting the stolen property back were equally important.

## A. INTRODUCTION

### A.1 Background

This enquiry into the knowledge and opinions of the general public about crime and the penal system, was originally undertaken on behalf of the Royal Commission on the Penal System. When the Royal Commission was dissolved, the enquiry continued under the auspices of the Home Office, who felt that the information provided by the study would be of value to themselves in the same way as it would have been to the Royal Commission. The final fieldwork was carried out in November and December 1966.

Continuity in the design of the enquiry was maintained through uninterrupted discussion at all stages with Dr. Charlotte Banks, first as Director of Research to the Royal Commission and later on behalf of the Home Office.

### A.2 Range and Limitations

The enquiry ranges over a very wide field indeed. It provides some basic information on a great variety of subjects, but covers none in great detail or depth. Many single sections in it could well be the subject of a full scale inquiry in their own right, and most sections had to be curtailed, some severely, in order to cover the required ground within an acceptable interview duration.

The original objective was to provide fairly general guide lines in respect of many of the topics falling within the terms of reference of the Royal Commission. These requirements were transmitted to the Social Survey through the Commission's research director, while the Social Survey, in its pre-pilot work, attempted mainly two things. First, unstructured interviews on "crime" where members of the general public were directed towards finding out what aspects of crime, criminals and the law people spontaneously talked about (ie what were their "live" interests in these subjects). Secondly, and within the same interviews, we attempted to find out what sorts of words were common coinage in talking about crime (eg it became clear that "offenders" tended to have a much less violent connotation than "criminals"); and to look into the distinctions people commonly made between similar crimes committed under different circumstances or against different victims.

Normal pilot work quickly showed that the interview, as originally designed, was too long to sustain. By judicious cutting, and then only by arranging that only two-thirds of the questions were put to any one individual, a satisfactory interview was finally designed.

This was the state of affairs when the Royal Commission was dissolved, and the sponsorship of the survey was taken over by the Home Office. The final pilot was complete, and only very minor modification was practicable to meet any specific new Home Office needs.

It is implicit in the nature of this inquiry that minor observed trends - small differences between demographic groups - measured on the basis of a few questions on a wide subject, are of limited practical significance whether or not they are statistically significant. We have confined any commentary on demographic data to those cases in which there were observed differences of at least 5% between groups. In a few cases, when the observed difference was somewhat greater, but appeared only in responses to a single question, no comment has been made in this report. This applies in cases where we considered that more data than we had been able to obtain would have been needed in order to understand or interpret the meaning of the result.

### A.3 Purpose and subject-matter

The original purpose was to give guidance to the Royal Commission on the state of public knowledge about crime and criminal procedures, and to provide them with some basis for judging whether present penal concepts reflect public opinion and whether public attitudes are based on any sound knowledge of offenders and the crimes they commit.

During discussions with the research team attached to the Royal Commission, and subsequently with the Home Office, and following pre-pilot and pilot stages, the subject matter was defined in more detail, until the final questionnaire contained the following sections. The sections are listed here under index letters in the order in which they first appeared on the interviewing schedules (see Appendix II), for easy reference. The index letters of sections used in each chapter of the report are shown after the chapter heading, so that reference may be made to the relevant question-sequences; but it will be noticed that on some occasions cross-analyses from two separate sections are introduced.

- A. Causes - some possible causes of crime
- B. Disincentives - some possible ways of catching more criminals, and of preventing crime.
- C. Seriousness and frequency of offences - the seriousness with which certain offences were regarded, and the relative frequency with which they are thought to occur.
- D. Changes in incidence and detection - whether certain crimes were thought to have increased or not over the past few years, and in what proportion of cases the police were thought to succeed in bringing someone to court for these same crimes.
- E. Courts - knowledge of legal procedure, and attitudes to some aspects of the administration of justice.
- F. Driving offences - the seriousness with which dangerous driving offences involving injury were regarded in relation to assaults resulting in similar injuries.
- G. Prisons and prisoners - knowledge of and attitudes towards conditions of life in prison and aid to prisoners' families and ex-prisoners.
- H. Characteristics of habitual offenders - what kinds of personality characteristics are thought to predominate amongst habitual offenders.
- I. Victims - what kinds of offences (if any) informants, their family or anyone else they knew well, had been the victims of; details of any incident that was found upsetting; and what crime informants most feared might happen to them.
- J. Nature of sentence (First offenders) - what were thought to be the most suitable ways of dealing with first offenders.
- K. Purpose of sentencing - what purposes should be considered when sentencing criminals, and which of these purposes should be the most important.
- L. Reasons for becoming habitual offenders - why do some men persist in breaking the law after they've been to prison.
- M. Means of reducing the number of habitual prisoners - what proportion of habitual prisoners would stop breaking the law if treated in various different ways.

- N. Aggravating and extenuating circumstances - whether the circumstances surrounding the crime, and the personal circumstances of the victim and the criminal himself, should make any difference to the amount of punishment he gets.
- O. Lawbreaking: Others/self - to what extent informants saw other people and themselves as intrinsically law-abiding; what they thought was the main thing that prevents other people and themselves from breaking the law; whether they had actually committed certain minor offences which they did not look upon as breaking the law; what they would most worry about if they were caught breaking the law.

This questionnaire proved too long to be accommodated in a single interview, so the sample (described in detail on p.9) was divided randomly into three, and two-thirds of the sample were asked any given section of the questionnaire (c.f. paragraph A.4e).

#### A.4 Method and outcome

##### a) The sample design

The sample was a two-stage random one, stratified geographically (by Registrar General's Standard Region), by type of area and by population density. Local Authority areas in England and Wales formed the primary sampling units and the final stage units were named adult individuals selected from the Register of Electors.

All Local Authority areas in England and Wales were stratified initially by Standard Region as defined by the General Register Office. Within Region, they were further broken down into three types of area, namely:

- i) Conurbations and large towns (i.e. towns outside the conurbations with a population of 250,000 or more)
- ii) other urban areas not included in i) above, and semi-rural areas (i.e. Rural Districts with a density of population greater than 0.25 per acre, or those of less than 0.25 persons per acre but contiguous to urban areas, or groups of urban areas, of population greater than 25,000)
- iii) truly rural areas (i.e. all other Rural Districts).

Within these cells, a further stratification by density of population was undertaken. The six density strata were:

- (i) up to 0.90 persons per acre
- (ii) more than 0.90 up to 4.60 persons per acre
- (iii) more than 4.60 up to 9.00 persons per acre
- (iv) more than 9.00 up to 14.30 persons per acre
- (v) more than 14.30 up to 22.00 persons per acre
- (vi) more than 22.00 persons per acre

b) Method of selection

From the full list of Local Authority areas in England and Wales, stratified as described above, 134 primary sampling units were selected with probability proportional to population size. (A list of the primary sampling units is shown in para A.4f).

At the second stage, 30 adult individuals were selected within each of the 134 primary sampling units, by taking names from the Electoral Register at a constant interval from a random start. Equal numbers of individuals were selected from each of the primary sampling units, in order to make the probability of selection of each individual from the population uniform.

This gave a total sample of 4,020 individuals.

c) The sample obtained

Interviews were obtained with 3,210 (80%) of the individuals selected. There were 413 refusals and incomplete interviews; (10%) and 397 (10%) were unable to be interviewed, mainly because they had moved and could not be traced, were away from home, or had died since the Electoral Register was compiled. A much abbreviated form of interview was used with those aged 70 and over. In practice it was found that the principal type of information obtained therefrom (on the history of the informants' victimisation) was one which showed particularly sharp evidence of lapses of memory among younger people. Information from the age-group 70 and over has, therefore, been omitted from this report.

Details are shown below:

Table 1  
The Sample

Base of percentage: set sample of individuals	4020	
	No.	%
<u>Interviews obtained</u>		
21-69	2,846	70.8
70 or over	364	9.0
Total interviewed	3,210	79.8
Refusals	402	10.0
Incomplete interviews	11	0.3
<u>Non-contacts</u>		
Moved and could not be traced/away from home	162	4.0
Address now unoccupied/demolished	35	0.8
Deceased	85	2.1
Out after four or more calls	55	1.6
Ill/in hospital	43	1.0
Ineligible (under 21/in Old People's home/ address only summer residence etc)	17	0.4
Total non-contacts	397	9.9

d) Reasons for failure to obtain interview

- i) Non-contacts Almost three-quarters of the non-contacts were people who had moved and could not be traced, or had died or the premises were empty. This was because the Electoral Register from which the names of individuals were selected, was compiled on October 10, 1965 and was thus about fourteen months out of date when the fieldwork was done. Interviewers were instructed to attempt to take removal replacements only in the case of boarders, lodgers and other one person households, and flat-sharers - in other words the mobile fringe of the population who tend to keep on changing their address. Replacements in these cases were strictly defined for interviewers as:

"the person who has moved in from another address to take the place of the person on the address list who has moved out to a new address (or if that person has also left, the one who moved in to take the place of the second person, etc.)".

Altogether 12 interviews were removal replacement interviews.

- ii) Refusals This study received a slightly higher refusal rate than is usual with adult population surveys. It is not thought that any 'delicacy' of the subject matter contributed to this, as only a very small proportion of reasons given for refusal to be interviewed mentioned the subject matter specifically. However there is some evidence that a combination of low interest and the length of the interview operated amongst those people who did refuse, since the majority of them gave no more adequate reason than "too busy/no time/can't be bothered/not interested". Interviewers were instructed when making appointments to tell informants that the interview might take about an hour and a quarter of their time. It was found, in fact, that the average length of interview was about one and three quarter hours.

e) The effective samples

The sample of 2,846 individuals aged 21-69 form the basis of this report. (Those aged 70 and over were interviewed only briefly on part of one section, because, as a result of pilot work, the interview was deemed too long and complex for many elderly people to sustain).

As stated earlier, it was found necessary to reduce the average duration of individual interviews, by ensuring that each section was asked of only two-thirds of the sample. To this end three separate interviewing schedules were designed, any given section being included in only two of them. The schedule-type to be used for each informant was randomly determined, and the appropriate type-number entered against each name and address supplied to interviewers.

Consequently the bases for the data reported on in each section approximate to two-thirds of 2,846, but differ slightly in size according to the combination of schedule-types from which they derive.

f) The Administrative Districts from which the individuals were selected, grouped by standard Region

Northern Region

South Shields C.B.  
Whitley Bay M.B.  
Middlesbrough C.B.  
West Hartlepool C.B.  
Bishop Auckland U.D.  
Durham M.B.

Yorkshire and Humberside

Leeds C.B.  
Bradford C.B.  
Huddersfield C.B.  
Spenborough M.B.  
Mirfield U.D.  
Sheffield C.B.

Northern Region contd.

Richmond M.B.  
Border R.D.  
Whitby R.D.

North West

Liverpool C.B.  
Liverpool C.B.  
Manchester C.B.  
Manchester C.B.  
Salford C.B.  
Stockport C.B.  
Bootle C.B.  
Middleton M.B.  
Eccles M.B.  
Wilmslow U.D.  
Preston C.B.  
Burnley C.B.  
Chester C.B.  
Lytham St. Annes M.B.  
Leyland U.D.  
Nantwich U.D.  
Whiston R.D.  
Fylde R.D.

West Midland

Birmingham C.B.  
Birmingham C.B.  
Birmingham C.B.  
Wolverhampton C.B.  
Sutton Coldfield M.B.  
Oldbury M.B.  
Sedgley U.D.  
Coventry C.B.  
Newcastle-under-Lyme M.B.  
Stafford M.B.  
Tamworth M.B.  
Whitchurch U.D.  
Stratford-on-Avon R.D.  
Droitwich R.D.

South East

Lambeth L.B.  
Wandsworth L.B.  
Croydon L.B.  
Barnet L.B.  
Southwark L.B.  
Ealing L.B.  
Bromley L.B.  
Lewisham L.B.  
Enfield L.B.  
Westminster L.B.  
Newham L.B.  
Islington L.B.

Yorkshire and Humberside contd.

Kingston-upon-Hull C.B.  
Rotherham C.B.  
Harrogate M.B.  
Saddleworth U.D.  
Barnoldswick U.D.  
Wortley R.D.  
Nidderdale R.D.

East Midland

Nottingham C.B.  
Leicester C.B.  
Chesterfield M.B.  
Loughborough M.B.  
Boston M.B.  
Market Harborough U.D.  
Blaby R.D.  
Belper R.D.  
West Kesteven R.D.

East Anglia

Norwich C.B.  
Kings Lynn M.B.  
Chesterton R.D.  
Erpingham R.D.

Hammersmith L.B.  
Hounslow L.B.  
Tower Hamlets L.B.  
Richmond-upon-Thames L.B.  
Sutton L.B.  
Chigwell U.D.  
Havering L.B.  
Portsmouth C.B.  
Southend-on-Sea C.B.  
Bournemouth C.B.  
Thurrock U.D.  
Poole M.B.

South East contd.

Hackney L.B.  
Waltham Forest L.B.  
Camden L.B.  
Greenwich L.B.  
Kensington and Chelsea L.B.  
Benfleet U.D.  
Aylesbury M.B.  
Farnham U.D.  
Cuckfield U.D.  
Sevenoaks U.D.  
Frinton and Walton U.D.  
Eton R.D.

Watford M.B.  
Colchester M.B.  
Maidstone M.B.  
Gravesend M.B.  
Walton and Weybridge U.D.  
Dartford R.D.  
Malling R.D.  
Epping and Ongar R.D.  
Bedford R.D.  
Horsham R.D.  
Newbury R.D.  
Dover R.D.

South West

Bristol C.B.  
Plymouth C.B.  
Exeter C.B.  
Weston-Super-Mare M.B.  
Barnstaple M.B.  
Bradford-on-Avon U.D.  
St. Thomas R.D.  
Truro R.D.  
Dursley R.D.  
Wells R.D.

Wales (South-East)

Wales (except South-East)

Wrexham M.B.  
Wrexham R.D.  
Ogwen R.D.

Cardiff C.B.  
Newport C.B.  
Caerphilly U.D.  
Ogmore and Garw U.D.  
Neath R.D.

It will be noted that Liverpool C.B. and Manchester C.B. occur twice each, and that Birmingham C.B. occurs three times. This is due to the large population of these cities and the fact that the primary sampling units were selected with probability proportional to population size.

g) The fieldwork

The fieldwork was carried out between 1st November and 30th December 1966, by Government Social Survey(1) interviewers. The following basic introduction was suggested as the one interviewers should use to informants:

"As you probably know, a lot of new laws are being made and old laws are being brought up to date these days. Efforts are being made to find better ways of dealing with crime and criminals. Of course, changes in the law and new methods of dealing with criminals are mainly worked out from the experience and advice of experts. At the same time the Home Office needs to know what people who aren't (necessarily) experts feel about crime and criminals - and how much people know about what is going on now."

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(1) At that time the Government Social Survey was a separate Department. It is now a division of the Office of Population Censuses and Surveys.

h) The analyses

The data was initially analysed by five demographic variables - the socio-economic status of informants, their level of education, age and sex, and the type of area in which they lived.

i) S.E.G. The seventeen Socio-economic groups as defined by the Registrar General, were combined into six categories:

1. Higher managerial and professional (including employers in large establishments - 25 or more persons)
2. Lower managerial (including employers in small establishments - under 25 persons - and farmers)
3. White collar workers (including personal service workers and non-professional workers on their own account)
4. Skilled manual workers (including foremen and supervisors)
5. Unskilled manual workers (including semi-skilled manual and agricultural workers)
6. Housewives, members of the Armed Forces and students, and inadequately defined occupations

(The unemployed, retired and permanently sick were coded according to their last job and widows according to their late husband's occupation.)

Because of the mixed nature of the sixth category, this category has been omitted from the Tables and the S.E.G. analyses restricted to the previously described five categories.

ii) Level of education There were two categories for education:

1. Higher (university, technical college, public and grammar school, inc. pre-1947 secondary schools)
2. Lower (all others)

iii) Age Age was distributed into four groups:

1. 21-30
2. 31-40
3. 41-50
4. 51-69

iv) Sex

v) Type of area The area in which the informant lived was classified according to its type:

1. Administrative Districts lying within Conurbations.
2. Other urban Administrative Districts.
3. Rural Administrative Districts.

Table 2 shows the distribution of these five demographic variables amongst informants interviewed on the three schedule types, with comparable population statistics (where available).

Table 2

Comparisons of Socio-economic status, Level of education, Age and Sex of informants, and the Type of area in which they lived, amongst the three samples interviewed.

		Individuals in sample aged 21-69						Individuals in population of England and Wales	Source and Remarks
		Schedule Type I		Schedule Type II		Schedule Type III			
<u>S.E.C.</u>		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	%	
	1	51	5	40	4	46	5	4	1966 Sample Census (unpublished figures)
	2	71	8	80	8	87	9	5	
	3	230	24	222	24	204	22	26	
	4	203	21	184	20	198	21	18	
	5	156	16	165	17	172	18	17	
	6	247	26	251	27	239	25	30	
<u>Level of education</u>									
	Higher	203	21	187	20	206	22		* Not available in this form
	Lower	753	79	754	80	736	78		
<u>Age</u>									
	21-30	158	17	155	16	159	17	21	1966 Sample Census Individuals aged 21-69
	31-40	212	22	197	21	205	22	20	
	41-50	222	23	216	23	232	24	22	
	51-69	363	38	373	40	349	37	37	
<u>Sex</u>									
	Male	473	49	440	47	460	49	49	1966 Sample Census Individuals aged 21-69
	Female	485	51	502	53	486	51	51	
<u>Type of Area</u>									
	Conurbation	320	34	318	34	314	33	35	Annual Population Estimates 1966 (Estimated for Total Population of England and Wales)
	Other urban	425	44	424	45	431	46	44	
	Rural	213	22	200	21	201	21	21	
Total number of informants		958	100	942	100	946	100		

\* Note In a survey of 2,184 local government electors aged 21 and over (carried out by the Government Social Survey in England and Wales in 1965) comparable figures were:- Higher - 23%, Lower - 77%.

Table 2 shows as closely comparable figures as possible for individuals in the population of England and Wales.

It can be seen that three samples closely match the population estimates by Sex and Type of Area.

All three samples are however deficient in the youngest age group. This is partly because a rather higher proportion of this age group than of those over 30 tend to be omitted from the Electoral Register (and thus fail to qualify for selection), and also because of the greater difficulty in contacting them (if they are on the Register and are selected) since they tend to be more often not at home.

It can also be seen that all three samples are slightly overweight in S.E.G. 2 (Lower managerial) and S.E.G. 4 (Skilled manual workers) and deficient in S.E.G. 6 (Housewives, Students, Members of the Armed Forces and inadequately described occupations). This is not readily explicable, but may be due to the interaction of a number of factors, such as:

- i) the rather high non-response rate
- ii) the suspected tendency of the Census to underestimate the proportion of economically active women and thus to overestimate the proportion of housewives.
- iii) the fact that the Census figures include the 20 year-olds whereas the sample starts at age 21, might give a higher proportion of students (Group 6) in the Census figures than in the sample and students are particularly likely to become members of Group 2 after graduation.

Table 2 also shows that the sample for the three different schedules are adequately matched in terms of their distribution of the five demographic variables that form the basic analysis. Because of this it was felt that minor differences between schedules in the distribution of answers to some of the questions, were largely attributable to the different ordering and content of the sections contained in the schedules. The distribution of answers for the two schedules that contained any given question were therefore added together, thus helping to offset any order effect and providing adequately sized sub-groups for the purposes of analysis.

## B. COURTS (Derives principally from Section E of the schedule)

### B.1 Introduction

This part of the study was designed to elicit people's knowledge about some basic differences between magistrates' and higher courts; their impressions of what happens to most defendants in a court of law; their impressions and opinions of some aspects of the sentencing process; their attitudes towards magistrates; and finally to obtain some indication of how fairly they think the law operates.

They were also asked about their experience of courts in action, since it was felt that this might be associated with their knowledge, impressions and opinions.

It is very important to remember that many of the questions they were asked, concerned aspects of legal procedure and facts and figures that they would be extremely unlikely to know about unless it happened that they were connected with the law. Thus this section is mainly concerned with people's impressions of how the law works.

For this very reason it was felt essential (as in the Section about Prisons) to reassure them that they were not being subjected to a test of knowledge, and therefore the present Section was introduced in the following way:-

"I'm going to ask you about what goes on in the courts where people who have broken the law are tried. Many people don't know much about this subject, so don't think it's unusual if you can't answer everything. We want to find out what things are not generally known."

## B.2 Experience of courts

### a) General contents

This sub-section is concerned with people's experience of courts - the reasons why they had attended a court, if at all, and the different kind of courts they had attended. The main purpose of the inclusion of this question was to see whether experience of courts was in any way associated with informants' impressions or opinions; but the results are of some interest in themselves.

### b) Reasons for attending a court

Almost half the sample had attended some kind of court on one or more occasions. About a quarter had been a spectator, and almost as many - one in five - had been a witness. 14% admitted to having been accused of an offence in court;\* 3% had been a member of a jury and 5% had attended for some other reason. (This included people who appeared in a professional capacity and people who had accompanied someone else required to attend.)

Tables 3 and 4 show in what capacity informants had attended any court, analysed by Socio-economic status, Level of education, Age, Sex and Type of area.

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\* This question was not expected to produce a true indication of the number of informants who had ever appeared in court accused of an offence. But it was hoped that by prompting all the capacities in which they could have attended, to get a fairly reliable indication of whether or not informants had seen a court in action.

It must also be remembered that this figure of 14% excludes a large number of minor motoring offenders who never appear in court at all.

It is however certain that those people who said they had been a defendant, actually had.

Table 3

Reasons for attending a court - analysed by  
Socio-economic status and Level of education

Q.25 Have you ever been inside a court yourself?

(Prompt singly) To watch what was going on  
As a witness  
Bringing a case against anyone else  
Accused of an offence yourself  
For any other reason.

	Total	S. E. G.						Education	
		1	(1+2)	2	3	4	5	Higher	Lower
Base of percentage: all informants	1900	91	(242)	151	452	387	321	390	1507
<u>% of informants who had been inside a court</u>	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
- as a spectator	24	37	(41)	42	28	23	22	32	22
- as a witness	20	43	(38)	34	19	19	22	23	19
- as a defendant	14	24	(26)	27	9	23	16	14	13
- as a plaintiff	6	12	(12)	12	5	5	6	6	6
- as a juror	3	8	(7)	6	3	5	1	5	6
- for any other reason	5	10	(9)	9	8	8	8	5	4
Had ever attended a court	47	70	(71)	71	46	51	51	52	46
Had never attended a court	53	30	(29)	29	54	49	49	48	54

Note: a) The sum of the capacities in which informants had attended courts is greater than the proportion who had ever attended a court, because some people had attended in at least two capacities.

b) The percentages in brackets are the sum of S.E.G. 1 and 2.

The Managerial groups (S.E.G. 1 and 2) were not only much more likely than White-collar or Manual workers to have been inside a court in action - almost three quarters of the former had attended a court as opposed to about half of any other group - but amongst those who had attended, a much higher proportion of the Managerial groups had attended in more than one capacity.

Whether from greater interest or curiosity, or possibly from a more flexible work schedule and longer holidays, the Managerial groups were much more likely than others to have been to a court as a spectator. They were also the most likely group to have appeared as a witness.

However perhaps the most striking feature shown in this table is the much lower proportion of White-collar workers than of any other Socio-economic group who said they had been a defendant in a court of law. While it is likely that the figure of 14% for the whole sample is an underestimate, there seems no reason to think that White-collar workers would be more likely than others to be motivated towards concealment of this kind.\* The conformist law-abiding stereotype may be correct.

Analysis by Level of education shows that better educated informants were slightly more likely than the less well educated to have been in a court of law, and that this difference is accounted for almost entirely by attendance as a spectator.

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\* In Section O of the questionnaire, informants were asked if they had ever travelled on the railway, bus or tube without paying, or taken anything from work which they weren't really strictly supposed to. While White-collar workers were less likely (in common with Lower managerial people and Unskilled manual workers) than Higher managerial and Skilled manual workers to say that they had taken something from work, they were more likely (again in common with the same two groups) than Higher managerial and Skilled manual workers to say they had at some time travelled without paying their fare.

Table 4

Reasons for attending a court - analysed  
by Age, Sex and Type of area

Q.25 Have you ever been inside a court yourself?

(Prompt singly) To watch what was going on  
As a witness  
Bringing a case against anyone else  
Accused of an offence yourself  
For any other reason.

	Total	Age				Sex		Type of area		
		21-30	31-40	41-50	51-69	Male	Female	Comur- bation	Other urban	Rural
Base of percentage: all informants	1900	313	409	438	736	913	987	638	849	413
<u>% of informants who had been inside a court:</u>	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
- as a spectator	24	18	23	28	25	32	17	27	25	19
- as a witness	20	14	17	21	23	27	13	19	20	20
- as a defendant	14	15	13	12	14	26	2	14	13	13
- as a plaintiff	6	3	6	6	7	8	4	6	6	6
- as a juror	3	1	2	2	4	5	6	3	3	2
- for any other reason	5	1	4	6	5	6	3	5	4	3
Had ever attended a court	47	37	44	50	51	63	32	49	48	41
Had never attended a court	53	63	56	50	49	37	68	51	52	59

Note The sum of the capacities in which informants had attended courts is greater than the proportion who had ever attended a court, because some people had attended in at least two capacities.

N.B. Here, and in other tables giving demographic analyses the total base given is the number of informants asked the question. The sum of the sub-groups may be less than this total because of lack of information (age was not known in four cases) or omission of a sub-group (e.g. S.E.G.6 and all Tables containing socio-economic analyses)

Younger informants were less likely than informants over forty to have had some experience of a court in action, and the younger the informant the less likely he or she was to have attended in more than one capacity. Younger informants were less likely than others to have appeared as a witness, and those aged between 21 and 30 were the least likely to have been there just to watch the proceedings.

Men were about twice as likely as women to have attended a court, and only a very small proportion of the women who had attended, had done so in more than one capacity. This greater likelihood of experience by men than by women extended to all the capacities in which they could have attended and it is of course to be expected that the proportion of them who had been defendants would be higher. In fact only 2% of women admitted to this as compared with about a quarter of men.

Informants living in Rural areas were slightly less likely than those living in Conurbations or Other urban areas to have been to a court, and this was solely due to the fact that a smaller proportion of them had been spectators - possibly because in rural areas such a visit would necessitate the effort of a longer journey.

#### c) Experience of different kinds of courts

Since the rest of the Section on Courts concerned English law or procedure, this analysis is confined to experience of magistrates' or higher courts in England and Wales, where in fact the great majority of those informants who had either been a spectator, witness, defendant, plaintiff or juror, had obtained their experience.

There must be one word of caution about the figures that follow - we cannot be certain that all informants necessarily knew by name the kind of court they had attended, and of course no check could be effectively made.

14% of the sample had been to a higher court but a very much higher proportion (36%) had been to a magistrates court. 8% of informants had had experience of both.

Tables 5 and 6 show experience of higher and magistrates' courts analysed by Socio-economic status, Level of education, Age, Sex and Type of area.

Table 5

Experience of higher and magistrates' courts in England or Wales - analysed by Socio-economic status and Level of education

	Total	S. E. G.						Education	
		1	(1+2)	2	3	4	5	Higher	Lower
Base of percentage: all informants	1900	91	(242)	151	452	387	321	390	1507
% of informants who had attended in England or Wales	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
- a higher court	14	36	(30)	26	19	11	9	22	11
- a magistrate's court	36	52	(58)	62	34	40	39	39	35
Had attended either or both	42	64	(68)	70	42	45	43	47	41
Had attended neither	58	36	(32)	30	58	55	57	53	59

Note: The percentages in brackets are an average of S.E.G. 1 and 2

Attendance at higher courts declined fairly steadily with Socio-economic status, but attendance at magistrates' courts was highest amongst the Lower managerial group, almost two thirds of whom had been to one, and fell sharply to about a third amongst White-collar workers. Experience of both kinds of courts was much higher among the managerial groups than it was among the other.

Better educated informants were much more likely than the less well educated to have had experience of both kinds of courts, but this is mainly due to their experience of higher courts, and their relative level of experience of magistrates' courts differed only slightly.

Table 6

Experience of higher and magistrates' courts in  
England or Wales - analysed by Age, Sex and  
Type of area

	Total	Age				Sex		Type of area		
		21-30	31-40	41-50	51-69	Male	Female	Conurbation	Other urban	Rural
Base of percentage: all informants	1900	313	409	438	736	913	987	638	849	413
<u>% of informants who</u> <u>had attended in</u> <u>England or Wales</u>	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
- a higher court	14	11	11	11	17	20	8	15	13	14
- a magistrate's court	36	30	33	39	38	50	23	38	38	32
Had attended either or both	42	35	38	44	46	57	28	45	42	38
Had attended neither	58	65	62	56	54	43	72	55	58	62

Informants in the oldest age group were more likely than younger informants to have been in a higher court, and the two oldest age groups were the most likely to have been in a magistrate's court.

A much higher proportion of men than women had had experience of both kinds of courts.

Informants living in Conurbations and Other urban areas were more likely than those in Rural areas to have been in a magistrate's court.

### B.3 Some differences between magistrates' and higher courts

#### a) Knowledge of outstanding differences

"Those who are professionally concerned with the law doubtless have a clear picture in their minds of the distinctive types of court, and these distinctions have a daily importance for them. But the average layman has probably only a vague idea of what the basic differences are".

(Extract from the Report of the Interdepartmental Committee on the Business of the Criminal Courts, 1961)

This subsection deals with those questions which were designed to discover whether in fact people know that there are different kinds of courts, and how much they are aware of some of the more obvious differences between them.

Informants were asked whether someone who had been found guilty of a minor offence such as drunkenness, would be sentenced at the same type of court as someone found guilty of a serious offence like robbery with violence.

Almost eight out of ten people knew that these offenders would be sentenced at different types of courts, but as many as 14% thought the same type of court dealt with both offences.

A higher proportion of women than men were unable to answer this question, but the ratio of correct to incorrect answers was identical for both sexes. Otherwise the distribution of answers varied little between the demographic sub-groups.

These figures of course only indicate people's claimed knowledge of the existence of different kinds of courts. Informants were therefore asked whether magistrates' courts - defined in the question as courts where people are sentenced for lesser offences\* - have a jury or not, and whether magistrates wear wigs.

About three quarters of the sample knew that magistrates' courts don't have juries, and about the same proportion knew that magistrates don't wear wigs. However only about two thirds knew both these facts.

It was not simply that the rest of the sample said they did not know (although about one in ten gave this answer to each of the questions), but as many as 14% thought magistrates' courts do have a jury and the same proportion thought magistrates do wear wigs.

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\* Interviewers were instructed to precede this question if necessary, with the following explanation:- "Magistrates' courts deal with all sorts of minor (less serious) offences. Under certain circumstances they can also deal with people for worse offences, but all offences which the law thinks are particularly bad, go to Higher courts where there are judges".

And, as the following table shows, even amongst those who claimed to know of the existence of different types of courts, the proportion holding these misconceptions did not fall below this level.

Table 7

Awareness of two major differences between magistrates' and higher courts - analysed by awareness of the existence of two different types of courts.

Q.8 As far as you know do Magistrates' courts (that's where people are sentenced for lesser offences) have a jury or not?

Q.9 Do you think the Magistrate wears a wig or not?

	Total	Informants who said that a drunk and a robber would be sentenced -		
		At different kinds of courts	At the same kind of court	Other answer/don't know
Base of percentage all informants	1900	1496	260	144
<u>% of informants saying that</u>	%	%	%	%
- magistrates' courts do have a jury	14	13	20	15
- do not have a jury	73	77	64	47
Other answer/don't know	13	10	16	38
- magistrates do wear wigs	14	13	19	20
- do not wear wigs	77	80	72	51
Don't know	9	7	9	29

b) Basic knowledge in relation to experience

The following table shows awareness of these differences analysed by experience of magistrates' courts.

Table 8

Awareness of two major differences between  
magistrates' and higher courts.  
- analysed by experience of magistrates' courts.

Q.8 As far as you know do magistrates' courts (that's where people are sentenced for lesser offences) have a jury or not?

Q.9 Do you think the magistrate wears a wig or not?

	Total	Had attended a magistrate's court	Had not attended a magistrate's court
Base of percentage: all informants	1900	688	1212
<u>% of informants saying that</u>	%	%	%
- magistrates' courts do have a jury	14	10	18
- do not have a jury	73	82	67
other answer/don't know	13	8	15
- magistrates do wear wigs	14	10	16
- do not wear wigs	77	85	72
don't know	9	5	12

As this table shows, although experience of a magistrate's court was more likely to be associated with the correct answers to these questions, nevertheless 10% of those informants who said they had actually been in such a court, appeared to think they had seen the magistrate wearing a wig and 10% that they had seen twelve people sitting in a jury-box.

This of course raises doubts as to whether some of the informants who said they had been in a magistrate's court had accurately identified the kind of court they had attended.

Even analysis by Socio-economic status and Level of education produces some surprising results as the following table shows.

Table 9

Awareness of two major differences between magistrates' and higher courts - analysed by Socio-economic status, Level of education and sex.

Q.8 As far as you know do magistrates' courts (that's where people are sentenced for lesser offences) have a jury or not?

Q.9 Do you think the magistrate wears a wig or not?

	Total	S. E. G.						Education		Sex	
		1	(1+2)	2	3	4	5	Higher	Lower	Male	Female
Base of percentage: all informants	1900	91	(242)	151	452	387	321	390	1507	913	987
<u>% of informants saying that</u>	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
- magistrates' courts do have a jury	14	3	(8)	11	13	14	16	9	16	11	18
- do not have a jury	73	95	(87)	82	79	77	63	87	69	82	64
other answer/don't know	13	2	(5)	7	8	9	21	4	15	7	18
<hr/>											
- magistrates do wear wigs	14	1	(4)	6	12	14	19	7	16	11	17
- do not wear wigs	77	98	(94)	91	79	79	68	89	74	84	70
don't know	9	1	(2)	3	9	7	13	4	10	5	13

Note: The percentages in brackets are the sum of S.E.G's. 1 and 2

As might be expected the higher an informant's Socio-economic status and Level of education the more likely he was to know that magistrates' courts do not have a jury, and that magistrates do not wear wigs.

Nevertheless, even amongst the Managerial groups and the better educated, almost one in ten thought that magistrates' courts do have juries and about one in twenty either evaded the question by saying "it depends" or "sometimes", or said they did not know. And about one in twenty of these same groups thought that magistrates wear wigs.

Women were much less likely than men to be able to answer either of these questions, and also more likely to get these rather basic facts wrong.

Age however was not associated with the answers to these questions; and the type of area in which informants lived was not associated with the answers to any of the questions dealt with in this sub-section.

### c) Juries

Informants were also asked whether higher courts have juries, and if so whether they always have them or only sometimes.

In fact, of course, in courts of ordinary criminal jurisdiction, quarter sessions and assizes, trial by jury is the rule. However if a man is committed to a higher court for sentence this is decided upon by the judge. Also both the Civil and Criminal Division of the Court of Appeal sit without juries, and nearly all civil cases heard at the Queen's Bench Division, the Chancery Division and the Probate, Divorce and Admiralty Division of the High Court are tried without juries.

The vast majority of the sample (96%) were able to answer the first part of the question - that higher courts have juries - and this majority never fell below 9% of any demographic sub-group.

However only one third of informants knew that higher courts do not always have a jury, and 56% thought they always do.

Whether the 32% of the sample who said correctly that higher courts do not always have a jury were thinking of committal for sentence, the Court of Criminal Appeal, or civil cases it is not possible to say.

But it is likely that, since the emphasis in this question and the preceding ones, and also in the preamble referred to in the footnote on page 17 was on offences, a high proportion of informants were thinking of criminal courts and probably of criminal trial (although the question actually said "sentenced in higher courts").

And since fictional presentation or even documentary or newspaper reporting of a case, is so often confined to the drama of trial by jury, which more readily captures the imagination, this may have contributed to the impression of higher courts held by 56% of the sample, that higher courts always have juries.

While the majority (although small) of all groups thought that higher courts always have a jury, the Managerial groups, the better educated and men were more likely than others to know that higher courts do not always have a jury.

Table 10 shows the answers to this question analysed by Socio-economic status, Level of education and Sex.

Table 10

Juries in higher courts - analysed by Socio-economic status, Level of education and sex.

Q.10 Do the higher courts (where people are sentenced for worse offences) have a jury?

(If yes)

Q.10a Do they always or only sometimes have a jury?

	Total	S. E. C.					Education		Sex	
		1	2	3	4	5	Higher	Lower	Male	Female
Base of percentage all informants	1900	91	151	452	387	321	390	1507	913	987
<u>% of informants saying that</u>	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
- higher courts always have a jury	56	51	50	56	56	56	54	57	53	57
- higher courts only sometimes have a jury	32	45	43	33	33	29	38	27	38	27
- higher courts have a jury but don't know whether always or only sometimes	8	2	6	8	8	11	5	11	7	11
- higher courts do not have a jury	1	-	-	0	1	-	1	1	1	1
- don't know whether they have a jury or not	3	2	1	3	2	4	2	4	1	4

d) Disclosure of previous convictions

The last question dealt with in this section concerns the point in time, during the hearing of a case, at which a man's previous convictions are disclosed to the magistrate and/or the judge, and is of course fundamental to their different roles in the legal process.

Informants were asked whether, if someone appears in a magistrate's court charged with an offence, the magistrate is told about his previous record or not. If they said "Yes, he is told", they were prompted as follows.

"Is the magistrate told before any evidence is heard, or after all the evidence has been heard but before the person has been found guilty or not guilty, or after the person has been found guilty but before the punishment is decided?"

Informants were then asked the same question about judges in higher courts.

The magistrate, of course, in order to perform his summary function of deciding the innocence or guilt of the accused, is not told about a man's previous record until after he has reached his verdict\*. He is however then informed in open court of any previous convictions to help him to decide on sentence (or whether this is a factor, among others, necessitating the committal of the accused to quarter sessions for sentence).

But in higher courts, of course, where the guilt or innocence of the accused is decided by a jury, the judge is supplied with a confidential list of a man's previous convictions before any evidence is heard, although this is not revealed in open court until the jury have given their verdict.

A third of the sample gave the correct answer about what happens in higher courts, that a judge is told about a man's record before any evidence is heard; but a somewhat smaller proportion (one quarter of the sample) gave the correct answer about magistrates' courts, that a magistrate is only told after he has decided on a man's guilt, before he passes sentence.

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\* However there must be cases where a man appears more than once before the same magistrate, and where this provision cannot operate in practice. And only since January 1st 1968 has a magistrate been prevented from trying the issue of a defendant's guilt if he has been informed, during an application for bail, of the accused's previous convictions.

Table 11 shows the detailed answers to these questions.

Table 11

The disclosure of a man's previous convictions

Q.12 i) If someone appears in a magistrate's court charged with an offence, do you know whether the magistrate is told about his previous record, or not?

ii) And how about judges (in higher courts)?

If Yes to i) and/or ii)

a) Is the magistrate/judge told -

Before any evidence is heard

or After all the evidence has been heard, but before the person has been found guilty or not guilty

or After the person has been found guilty but before the punishment is decided.

	Magistrate's courts	Higher courts
Base of percentage: all informants	1900	
<u>% of informants saying that the magistrate/judge</u>	%	%
- is told before evidence is heard	28	33 *
- is told after evidence but before verdict	14	14
- is told after verdict but before sentence	25 *	19
- is told but don't know when	6	6
- is not told	14	13
don't know whether told or not	12	13
other answers	1	2

\* Denotes correct answer.

The widespread range of answers, each given by a fairly high proportion of informants, the high proportion of "don't knows", and the rather similar distribution of answers for the two kinds of courts, suggest that most people did not really know this fundamental difference between the function of a magistrate and a judge, and that their answers were formulated by impressions of what they think happens (or should happen) in any court of law.

A further indication of this is the fact that the two correct answers (different for each type of court) were negatively correlated, while answers that were the same for each type of court were positively correlated, and the correlations were fairly high.\*

It is in fact likely that only extremely well-informed people or anyone connected with the law or perhaps the press, would know for a fact that the judge is given this information about a man's record in confidence prior to the hearing. And even people attending a higher court in session, would actually hear the list of previous convictions read out after the jury had given their verdict but before the judge passes sentence.

Table 12 shows how experience of the different types of court was associated with informants' impressions of what happens.

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*	<u>Correlation</u>
Magistrate told before evidence/Judge told before evidence	.6
Magistrate told after evidence but before verdict/Judge told after evidence but before verdict	.5
Magistrate told after verdict but before sentence/Judge told after verdict but before sentence	.5
Magistrate not told at all/Judge not told at all	.4

Table 12

The disclosure of a man's previous convictions  
- analysed by experience of courts

Q.12 i) If someone appears in a magistrate's court charged with an offence, do you know whether the magistrate is told about his previous record, or not?

ii) And how about judges (in higher courts)?

If Yes to i) and/or ii): a. Is the magistrate/judge told -

- Before any evidence is heard  
or After all the evidence has been heard, but before the person has been found guilty or not guilty  
or After the person has been found guilty but before the punishment is decided.

	Total	Experience of magistrates' courts		Experience of higher courts	
		Had attended a magistrate's court	Had not attended a magistrate's court	Had attended a higher court	Had not attended a higher court
Base of percentage: all informants	1900	688	1212	257	1643
<u>% of informants saying that the magistrate</u>	%	%	%	%	%
- is told before evidence is heard	28	25	30		
- is told after evidence but before verdict	14	13	14		
- is told after verdict but before sentence	25 *	31 *	22 *		
- is told but don't know when	6	6	6		
- is not told	14	16	13		
don't know whether told or not	12	9	14		
other answers	1	0	1		
<u>% of informants saying that the judge</u>					
- is told before evidence is heard	33 *			23 *	35 *
- is told after evidence but before verdict	14			12	14
- is told after verdict but before sentence	19			37	17
- is told but don't know when	6			5	6
- is not told	13			17	13
don't know whether told or not	13			5	14
other answers	2			1	1

\* Denotes correct answer.

As this table shows, informants who had attended a magistrate's court were more likely than those who had not, to give the correct answer: but informants who had attended a higher court were more likely than those who had not, to give the incorrect answer that observation would have led them to think was correct - that the judge is only told about a man's previous record after the verdict is reached by the jury, but before he passes sentence.

If, as was stated above, only the very well-informed would be likely to know that the judge is in possession of the information about a man's record before the case is heard, what then was the association between informants' Socio-economic status and Level of education and their impressions of what happens in both types of court?

The results are shown in Table 13:

Table 13

The disclosure of a man's previous convictions  
- analysed by Socio-economic status and Level of education.

- Q.12 i) If someone appears in a magistrate's court charged with an offence, do you know whether the magistrate is told about his previous record, or not?

- ii) And how about judges (in higher courts)?

If Yes to i) and/or ii): a) Is the magistrate/judge told -

Before any evidence is heard

or After all the evidence has been heard, but before the person has been found guilty or not guilty.

or After the person has been found guilty but before the punishment is decided.

	Total	S. E. G.					Education		
		1	(1+2)	2	3	4	5	Higher	Lower
Base of percentage: all informants	1900	91	(242)	151	452	387	321	390	1507
<u>% of informants saying</u> <u>that the magistrate</u>	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
- is told before evidence is heard	28	19	(15)	13	25	27	36	17	31
- is told after evidence but before verdict	14	8	(12)	15	17	15	12	14	14
- is told after verdict but before sentence	25*	46*	(41)*	38*	24*	25*	24*	36*	22*
- is told but don't know when	6	2	(5)	6	4	5	7	4	6
- is not told	14	20	(19)	18	16	15	9	18	13
don't know whether told or not	12	4	(7)	9	11	12	11	7	13
other answers	1	1	(1)	1	3	1	1	4	1
<u>% of informants saying</u> <u>that the judge</u>									
- is told before evidence is heard	33*	25*	(23)*	22*	31*	32*	40*	26*	35*
- is told after evidence but before verdict	14	6	(11)	14	16	17	12	10	15
- is told after verdict but before sentence	19	37	(32)	29	20	19	17	29	17
- is told but don't know when	6	1	(5)	7	6	5	6	5	6
- is not told	13	21	(17)	15	15	13	9*	17	12
don't know whether told or not	13	6	(10)	12	10	12	15	11	13
other answers	2	4	(2)	1	2	2	1	2	2

\* Denotes correct answer

Note: Percentages in brackets are an average of S.E.G. 1 and 2.

It can be seen from this table that while the Managerial groups and the better educated were more likely than White-collar or Manual workers and the less well educated, to think that the magistrate is told a man's previous convictions only after he has given the verdict, they were less likely to think that the judge is told before any evidence is heard.

It would be unreasonable to suppose that those groups who were less likely to know the true facts about magistrates' courts would be more likely to know the true facts about higher courts, particularly since the less well educated and informants of lower socio-economic status were less likely than others to know the correct answers to earlier questions about both kinds of court.

The most striking feature of this table, if the correct answer is ignored, is the close resemblance of the distribution of answers to the two questions throughout the socio-economic groups and the education groups. In other words, the lower an informant's socio-economic status and level of education the more likely he was to think that both the judge and the magistrate are told about a man's previous convictions even before any evidence is heard; and the higher an informant's socio-economic status and level of education the more likely he was to think that neither the judge nor the magistrate is given this information until after the verdict has been given.

While the greater likelihood of experience of higher courts amongst the higher socio-economic groups and the better educated may have partly contributed to their impression that this information is only imparted to the judge when it is read out in open court - it is also possible that they thought that a fair trial could only come about if he simply heard the actual evidence of the case and knew nothing about any previous convictions.

It is also possible that informants of lower socio-economic status and level of education did not in fact realise that this was an issue that affected a fair trial, and thought it would be quite natural that the police would tell all that was known about a man to both the magistrate and the judge.

All age groups were more likely to think that the judge is told a man's record before the hearing, rather than after the verdict, and the youngest age group were more likely to think the same ruling applies to magistrates' courts. But informants over 30 had very varied impressions about what happens in magistrates' courts.

A higher proportion of women than men thought that both the magistrate and the judge are given this information before evidence is heard. Men were more likely than women to think a magistrate is only told after he has given his verdict; but about the same proportion of men thought a judge is told before the trial as thought he is told after the verdict.

#### B.4 The Defendant

##### a) Introduction

This section deals with rather more important aspects of legal procedure - more important in that they concern what happens to a man when he faces the machinery of the law and is charged with an offence. How much do people know about what might happen to them if they were placed in such a situation, and what do they think happens to most people who are?

##### b) Custody prior to conviction

Informants were asked whether, as far as they knew, a man can be kept in prison before he is convicted - that is before it has been decided whether he is guilty or not.

Unless bail is granted, a man may be detained in custody, from the time he is charged with an offence - throughout any period of remand for enquiries to be completed, or while awaiting the sitting of a higher court if committed for trial - until the verdict on his case is reached.

In practice very few offenders tried summarily are detained in custody, and in 1965 only just over a third of those committed for trial were refused bail.\*

Although the great majority of informants (84% of the sample) knew that a man can be detained in custody before conviction, 12% thought this is not allowed.

Unskilled manual workers were the most likely of the Socio-economic groups to think a man cannot be kept in prison before he's found guilty - 15% of them thought this. But it is surprising that as many as 7% of the Managerial groups were wrong about this, and the better educated informants were equally likely to be wrong as the less well educated.

Proportionately more women than men (15% as opposed to 8%) thought a man could not be kept in prison before conviction.

There were however no differences between age-groups or areas. (The Type of area in which informants lived was not in fact associated with any question dealt with in this chapter).

People who had actually appeared as a defendant in a court of law were more likely than those who had not, to know that a man can be detained in custody prior to conviction - 92% of defendants knew this as compared with 83% of those who said they had never appeared in court accused of an offence.

##### c) Pleas

A number of questions were asked about pleas - how most defendants plead in both lower and higher courts, and what effect the plea may have on a defendant's subsequent trial and sentence.

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\* By the Criminal Justice Act 1967, restrictions were imposed on magistrates' powers of refusing bail. This section of the Act did not come into force until January 1st, 1968.

i) How do most defendants plead? Informants were asked whether they thought most people who are charged in a magistrate's court plead guilty or not guilty. They were also asked the same question about people charged in higher courts.

In a study<sup>†</sup> carried out in 1956-1957, Evelyn Gibson found that three-quarters of all persons committed for trial at higher courts pleaded guilty. No later figures have been published, but estimated figures obtained from the Criminal Statistics Division of the Home Office for the last quarter of 1967 and the whole of 1968, suggest that the proportion pleading guilty has decreased, although they are still in the majority.

No actual figures are available for pleas in lower courts, but various pointers suggest that the proportion of guilty pleas is greater than in higher courts.

For example 60% of offenders tried summarily in 1965 were charged with minor motoring offences\*, the majority of whom plead guilty by letter. Secondly in Roger Hood's study of magistrates' courts\*\*, he found that 84% of the property offenders sampled pleaded guilty. Further the Streatfield Committee\*\*\* estimated that nine out of ten people charged with breaking and entering pleaded guilty. And although they formed only a small proportion of offenders tried summarily in 1965, these are some of the most serious offences that appear for trial before magistrates - so that it is probable that people charged with less serious offences would be just as, or even more, likely to plead guilty.

In the light of this lack of widely publicised figures, it is hardly to be expected that members of the general public would be aware of them, nor, in the writer's opinion, is it likely that they would know even the correct proportional answer. So it is therefore the impressions of informants that are being considered here.

Although as many as four out of ten informants said that most defendants in magistrates' courts plead not guilty, half the sample did in fact have the impression that most of them plead guilty.

However people's impressions of what happens in higher courts was very far from a true picture. 70% of the sample thought that most people accused in higher courts plead not guilty.

Because of the way court cases are usually presented, in terms of a full trial, it is perhaps understandable that people should have this impression of higher courts.

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† "Time spent awaiting trial" - A Home Office Research Unit Report, published in 1960.

\* These figures were taken from the Criminal Statistics for England and Wales, 1965.

\*\* Sentencing in Magistrates' Courts - R. Hood, 1962.

\*\*\* Report of the Interdepartmental Committee on the Business of the Criminal Courts, 1961.

Nevertheless the fact that such a high proportion thought that most accused persons plead not guilty in higher courts, and that as many as 40% thought this happens in magistrates' courts as well, suggests that many people may think that a plea of not guilty is an intrinsic feature of justice in so far as it is an essential part of the combat between the law on the one hand and the accused person on the other. ("A man is innocent until he is proved guilty").

Table 14 shows how informants thought most defendants plead in magistrates and higher courts, analysed by Socio-economic status and Level of education.

Table 14

Impressions of pleas in magistrates and higher courts  
- analysed by Socio-economic status and Level of education

- Q.15 i) Of the people who are charged in a magistrate's court, (that is for less serious offences), do you think most of them plead guilty or not guilty?
- Q.16 ii) Of the people who are charged in higher courts (that is for serious offences), do you think most of them plead guilty or not guilty?

	Total	S. E. G.						Education	
		1	(1+2)	2	3	4	5	Higher	Lower
Base of percentage: all informants	1900	91	(242)	151	452	387	321	390	1507
<u>% of informants saying that</u>	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
<u>In magistrates' courts</u>									
- most plead guilty	50	60	(58)	56	50	56	51	59	48
- most plead not guilty	39	28	(33)	36	37	36	42	33	40
Other answer/don't know	11	12	(9)	8	13	8	7	8	12
<u>In higher courts</u>									
- most plead guilty	21	17	(14)	13	18	21	25	14	23
- most plead not guilty	70	79	(79)	79	72	71	67	78	68
Other answer/don't know	9	4	(7)	8	10	8	8	8	9

Note: Percentages in brackets are an average of S.E.G. 1 and 2.

Although the highest proportion in each group thought that most defendants in magistrates' courts plead guilty and that most defendants in higher courts plead not guilty - unskilled manual workers and the less well educated were more likely than others to think that most plead not guilty in lower courts; and conversely, the Managerial groups and the better educated were more likely to think that most plead not guilty in higher courts.

This suggests that the better educated and informed sections of the public are more likely to be aware of the types of offences and offenders that appear before magistrates; but that they also think that the graver the offence (and therefore its possible consequences) the more likely an accused person is to attempt to combat the charge and offer a defence.

Table 15 shows how informants thought most defendants plead, analysed by Age and Sex.

Table 15

Impressions of pleas in magistrates and higher courts  
- analysed by Age and Sex

- Q.15 i) Of the people who are charged in a magistrate's court, (that is for less serious offences), do you think most of them plead guilty or not guilty?
- Q.16 i) Of the people who are charged in higher courts (that is for serious offences), do you think most of them plead guilty or not guilty?

	Total	A g e				S e x	
		21-30	31-40	41-50	51-69	Male	Female
Base of percentage: all informants	1900	313	409	438	736	913	987
<u>% of informants</u> <u>saying that</u>	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
<u>In magistrates' courts</u>							
- most plead guilty	50	60	55	53	43	58	43
- most plead not guilty	39	31	36	36	45	34	43
Other answer/don't know	11	9	9	11	12	8	14
<u>In higher courts</u>							
- most plead guilty	21	19	22	23	21	17	25
- most plead not guilty	70	73	72	69	68	76	64
Other answer/don't know	9	8	6	8	11	7	11

Men were less likely than women to think most defendants plead not guilty in magistrates' courts but more likely to think they plead not guilty in higher courts. A higher proportion of women than men were unable to answer the question, and even if the 'don't knows' are excluded, the variation between the answers of the sexes remains.

Informants in the oldest age groups were the least likely to have an accurate impression of pleas in magistrates' courts; but there was little association between informants' age and their impression of pleas in higher courts.

The 14% of the sample who admitted to having appeared in court accused of an offence were more likely than those who had not, to think that most defendants in magistrates' courts plead guilty (60% of the former group as compared with 49% of the latter).

But on the other hand a higher proportion (77%) of people who had been defendants, than of those who had not (69%), thought that most defendants in higher courts plead not guilty.

However since the great majority of these informants had in fact been accused of an offence in a magistrate's court, one would not expect their personal experience of one type of court to lead them to have the correct impression of what happens to other people in another type of court.

ii) Effect of a plea of guilty on trial. Informants were asked whether someone who pleads guilty is tried "only to decide what punishment he should be given, or whether there is more to it than that".

In fact, of course, if the prisoner pleads guilty and it appears to the satisfaction of the judge (or the magistrate) that he rightly comprehends the effect of his plea, his plea is accepted. Any mitigating circumstances are considered and the prosecution usually accesses the facts of the case. Sentence is then passed - unless he is remanded while enquiries into his background and antecedents are made, or unless he is committed for sentence by a magistrate to a higher court. It is only where the charge is murder that the court refuses to accept a plea of guilty and insists on trying the issue.

Just under half the sample said that a man who pleads guilty is tried only for sentence.\* But about one in five of informants said spontaneously that notwithstanding a man's plea, there still has to be a full trial to prove his guilt. 6% said the court has to go into a man's motives. All other answers were given by less than 3% of the sample.

A high proportion of the sample (18%) were unable to answer this question; and, as might be expected, there was a higher proportion of 'don't knows' amongst informants of lower Socio-economic status, the less well educated, older informants and women.

Although the highest proportions of all demographic sub-groups said that a man who pleads guilty is tried only to decide what punishment he is to be given, it was the Higher managerial and professional group who were the most likely to think that there has to be a full trial to prove his guilt; and a higher proportion of the better educated and men than the less well educated and women, thought this too.

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\* In view of the open nature of the second half of this question - "or is there something more to it than that?" - it is possible that there was a bias in favour of the suggested answer - "tried only for sentence" - on the part of those with no firm impressions of the actual procedure.

It is possible to speculate that there may be a tendency for some more highly educated people to believe in some 'ideal' system of justice - whereby a man's confession to a crime is insufficient proof by itself of his guilt, and that the onus should still be on the prosecution to produce definitive evidence of his guilt in order to demonstrate that justice has truly been done.

51% of people who had actually been accused of an offence in court, as opposed to 43% of those who had not, said a man who pleads guilty is tried only for sentence. But as many as one in five of defendants (the same as the proportion of non-defendants) thought there still had to be a full trial.

iii) Effect of the plea on sentence. Informants were told to suppose that two people commit the same sort of crime and are caught; one pleads guilty and the other pleads not guilty, and the one who pleads not guilty is found guilty after the trial.

They were then asked "Do you think both of them would get the same punishment or would one of them usually get a worse punishment than the other?"

If they said that one of them would get a worse punishment than the other, they were asked "Which one do you think would get the worse punishment?"\*

These questions concern a controversial issue, and there is clearly no way of finding out the extent to which, in otherwise identical cases, a plea of "guilty" may lead in practice to a more lenient sentence than one of "not guilty". Interest lies in the impressions and beliefs which people have formed about the relevance of the plea to the severity of the sentence.

Informants were sharply divided on this issue. Although 46% of the sample thought both men would get the same punishment, an almost equally high proportion thought that the man who pleaded not guilty and was subsequently found guilty, would get a worse punishment. It appears, therefore, that a very substantial number of people believe that, in practice, a person who pleads guilty to a crime he has committed will usually be sentenced more leniently than one who has committed a similar offence but pleads "not guilty".

This sharp division of opinion was maintained throughout all the demographic subgroups, but there were some slight changes of emphasis between informants of higher and lower Socio-economic status, and of different levels of education.

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\* It was realised that this question was rather long and might prove difficult for informants to assimilate. Interviewers were therefore instructed to go back over the question slowly.

Table 16

Effect of the plea on sentence- analysed by Socio-economic status and Level of education

- Q.14 Suppose two people commit the same sort of crime and are caught, and one pleads guilty and the other not guilty. The one who pleads not guilty is found guilty after trial. Do you think both would get the same punishment or would one of them usually get a worse punishment than the other?

If one worse than the other: Which one do you think would get the worse punishment?

	Total	S.E.G.					Education	
		1	2	3	4	5	Higher	Lower
Base of percentage: all informants	1900	91	151	452	387	321	390	1507
<u>% of informants saying that:</u>	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
- both would get the same punishment	46	50	47	47	48	40	50	45
- the one who pleaded not guilty would get the worse punishment	44	43	46	43	45	48	40	46
- the one who pleaded guilty would get the worse punishment	3	3	1	3	2	3	2	3
Other answer/don't know	7	4	6	7	5	9	8	6

As this table shows, Unskilled manual workers were less likely than any other group to think that both men would get the same punishment. And while the higher socio-economic groups were more likely to think that both would get the same punishment than that the man who pleads not guilty would get worse, the reverse was true of the Unskilled.

Similarly less well educated informants were more likely than the better educated to think that the man who pleads not guilty is liable to come off worse than the man who pleads guilty in the first place.

People who had been defendants were no more likely than those who had not, to think that the man who pleads not guilty would get the worse punishment.

d) Legal representation and legal aid

i) Introduction. Several questions were asked about legal representation and legal aid - whether most defendants are legally represented, whether legal aid is available and whether most people receive it or not.

Apart from the question about the existence of legal aid, it must again be emphasised that it could not be expected that members of the general public would be aware of the true proportions of defendants who are legally represented and in receipt of legal aid. These questions concern their general impression of what happens in the majority of cases.

ii) Legal representation. Informants were asked whether most of the people charged in magistrates' courts have someone to represent them, or whether most of them do not have anyone to represent them.\* This same question was also asked about people charged in higher courts.

As with pleas, no statistics had actually been published at the time of this inquiry of the number of accused persons who are legally represented either in magistrates' courts or higher courts.\*\* However such figures as were available showed that the relative proportions differed considerably between the two types of courts.

In 1964 the Widgery committee<sup>†</sup> asked four clerks of assize and twenty clerks of the peace to record for all cases committed for trial over a given period, whether or not they were legally represented. Out of 596 cases, only 15% had no legal representation, and even amongst those who pleaded guilty, the proportion only rose to 19%. Although these figures were not national, it would be safe to assume that in 1964 the majority of persons accused of an offence in higher courts were legally represented.<sup>‡</sup>

Although no figures were produced for magistrates' courts, the same twenty-four courts also provided figures to show the extent to which persons committed for sentence were legally represented. Out of 199 cases, 45% were not legally represented. If the figure of non-represented persons committed for sentence to a higher court was as high as 45%, it would seem safe to assume that the proportion non-represented who were sentenced in magistrates' courts was substantially higher. Taken in conjunction with the fact that over 800,000 summary trials in 1964 were for minor motoring offenders - the majority of whom plead guilty by letter - one could therefore reasonably say that in 1964 the majority of persons accused of an offence in magistrates' courts were not legally represented.

The impression held by the sample about legal representation in the two different types of court was very dissimilar and rightly represented an accurate picture of the true difference.

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\* Interviewers were instructed to make sure, if necessary, that people knew what was meant by "someone to represent them" - by saying "A lawyer, not an employer or a vicar etc."

\*\* With effect from 1st October, 1968 statistics for legal representation at Quarter Sessions and Assizes (relating both to cases receiving legal aid and those in which the defendant was privately represented) have been recorded, and are now published in the "Legal Aid" section of the annual "Criminal Statistics" (HMSO).

† Report of the Departmental Committee on Legal Aid in Criminal Proceedings - March 1966.

‡ Due to the extension of legal aid from an all or nothing basis to a contributory basis, provided for by the Criminal Justice Act of 1967, it is likely that the proportion not legally represented has dropped further.

The vast majority of informants (95% of the sample) thought that most defendants in higher courts are legally represented - and this majority never fell below 94% of any demographic sub-group.

Although it is possible that some informants may have known this for a fact and common-sense may have led others to suppose it, it is also likely that this impression may have been largely formed by the selective presentation of court cases by most media, and by the combat view of justice referred to earlier. Nor must it be forgotten that the majority of the sample - although a reduced one - thought (wrongly) that most defendants in higher courts plead not guilty, and there is likely to be an association in people's minds between a plea of not guilty and the presence of a lawyer to appear for the defence.

The sample was sharply divided however about legal representation in magistrates' courts - 48% thought most people are legally represented and 46% thought most of them are not.

It will be remembered that the sample was divided about pleas in magistrates' courts, although not so sharply. And as the following tables show, in most cases those same groups who were more likely to think that most defendants plead not guilty, were also more likely to think that most defendants are legally represented.

Table 17

Legal representation in magistrates' courts  
- analysed by Socio-economic status and  
Level of education

Q.15 ii) Do you think most of the people charged (in magistrates' courts - that is for less serious offences) have someone to represent them or do most of them not have anyone to represent them?

	Total	S. E. G.					Education	
		1 (1+2)	2	3	4	5	Higher	Lower
Base of percentage: all informants	1900	91 (242)	151	452	387	321	390	1507
<u>% of informants</u> <u>saying that</u>	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
- most do have someone to represent them	48	31 (36)	39	49	47	48	36	51
- most do not have someone to represent them	46	67 (60)	56	46	49	45	61	42
Other answer/don't know	6	2 (4)	5	5	4	7	3	7

Note: The percentages in brackets are the sum of S.E.G. 1 and 2

Although White-collar and Manual workers were fairly equally divided about this question, they were all more likely than the Managerial groups to think that most defendants in magistrates' courts have someone to represent them. The Managerial groups were on the other hand much more likely to think that most defendants are not represented than that they are.

Similarly while the less well educated were more likely to think most defendants have legal representation, the better educated were more likely to think they do not.

Table 18

Legal representation in magistrates' courts  
- analysed by Age and Sex

Q.15 ii) Do you think most of the people charged (in magistrates' courts - that is for less serious offences) have someone to represent them or do most of them not have anyone to represent them.

	Total	Age				Sex	
		21-30	31-40	41-50	51-69	Male	Female
Base of percentage: all informants	1900	313	409	438	736	913	987
<u>% of informants</u> <u>saying that</u>	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
- most do have someone to represent them	48	41	41	47	56	40	56
- most do not have someone to represent them	46	55	52	48	37	56	37
Other answer/ don't know	6	4	7	5	7	4	7

Just as informants in the oldest age group were the most likely to think that most defendants in magistrates' courts plead not guilty, so they were also the most likely to think that most defendants in magistrates' courts are legally represented.

A much higher proportion of women than men thought that most accused persons have someone to represent them in magistrates' courts.

iii) Legal aid. Informants were first asked whether all the people who have someone to represent them pay his fees themselves or whether there is some way that people can get help in paying his fees. Those informants who knew that legal aid is available were asked whether they thought most of the people who have someone to represent them in magistrates' courts get help in paying his fees or whether most of them do not get help. These same informants were also asked this question about people who are represented in higher courts.

At the time of this enquiry, legal aid was available in the form of a certificate entitling the recipient to the service of a solicitor for summary trials and committal proceedings, and in the form of a defence certificate for trials on indictment and committals for sentence\*, entitling the recipient to a solicitor, and counsel as well in some circumstances, but always for murder.\*\*

Although in fact there has been an increase in the use of legal aid in magistrates' courts over the years, the great majority of accused persons do not even apply for legal aid for summary proceedings. In 1965 only 1.7% of them applied for it, and only 1.3% received it either with or without applying for it.\*\*\*

The position in higher courts, however, is very different. In 1965, 57% of the 35,910 persons who were committed for trial or sentence were granted legal aid.\*\*\*\* Unfortunately it is not possible from the statistics published to separate persons receiving it for trial and persons receiving it for committal for sentence. But of the 596 cases committed for trial recorded for the Widgery Committee in twenty-four courts in 1964 (see para. ii) above), 505 were legally represented, and of these 87% received legal aid.

Only 8% of the sample thought all defendants have to pay themselves to get legal representation and are unable to get any help with legal fees. 85% of the sample (and this proportion never fell below 78% of any demographic subgroup) knew that legal aid is available.

However, analysis by socio-economic status shows that unskilled manual workers were more likely than any other group not to know that legal aid is available - 13% of them thought all people have to pay legal fees themselves as opposed to only 2% of the higher managerial and professional group.

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\* Legal aid for proceedings relating to sentence was only available from 1963.

\*\* The situation was modified by the provisions of the 1967 Criminal Justice Act.

\*\*\* Although it is also assumed that the proportion represented in summary trials is only a minority, it is not possible to relate the proportion receiving legal aid to the proportion represented at all.

\*\*\*\* The figures for legal aid in summary proceedings, and for committal for trial or sentence in higher courts were taken from Criminal Statistics for England and Wales 1965.

Amongst informants who knew that legal aid is available, seven out of ten thought that most people who are represented in higher courts do get legal aid; and the differences between groups were minimal.

But informants were as sharply divided about legal aid in magistrates' courts as they were about pleas and legal representation. 44% of those who knew of the availability of legal aid thought that most defendants who are represented get help with their fees, and 47% thought they do not.

Table 19 shows informants' impressions of legal aid in magistrates' courts analysed by Socio-economic status and Sex. There was no consistent association between informants' Age and Level of education and their answers to this question.

Table 19

Legal aid in magistrates' courts  
- analysed by Socio-economic status and Sex

Q.17a. Of the people who have someone to represent them in magistrates' courts (that is for less serious offences), do you think most of them get help in paying his fees or most do not get help?

	Total	S. E. G.					Sex	
		1	2	3	4	5	Male	Female
Base of percentage: informants who knew that legal aid is available	1616	88	139	403	334	251	813	803
<u>% of informants saying that</u>	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
<u>In magistrates' courts</u>								
- most people who are represented get help with fees	44	34	35	43	43	46	39	49
- most people who are represented do not get help with fees	47	59	58	49	49	46	54	41
Other answer/don't know	9	7	7	8	8	8	7	10

Note: This base of percentage also includes 11 informants who gave unspecific answers to the main question "As far as you know do all the people who have someone to represent them, pay his fees themselves or is there some way that people can get help in paying his fees?"

Just as White-collar and Manual workers were more likely than the Managerial groups to think most defendants in magistrates' courts are legally represented, they were also more likely to think that most of those who are legally represented get help with their fees. The Managerial groups, on the other hand, were much more likely to think that most represented defendants have to pay their fees themselves.

Again women, who were much more likely than men to think that most defendants in magistrates' courts have someone to represent them, were also much more likely than men to think that most of them get legal aid.

Informants who had had the experience of being a defendant in a magistrate's court were much more likely than others to think that most defendants in magistrates' courts are not legally represented. (60% as compared with 45%).

And 60% of those defendants who had heard of legal aid thought that most people who are represented in magistrates' courts pay their fees themselves, as opposed to only 45% of the non defendants who had heard of legal aid.

#### e) The Sentencing Process

i) Introduction. This section deals with people's impressions and opinions about different aspects of the sentencing process - whether sentences are thought to vary with the individual judge or magistrate, whether judges or magistrates are in fact the right people to make sentencing decisions, and whether sentence should be decided at the time of conviction or later.

ii) Variation in sentencing policy. Informants were asked whether, thinking of all sorts of offences, they thought that the sentence a person gets depends a lot on which magistrate hears the case, or whether most magistrates would give about the same sentence. They were also asked this question about judges.

In evidence before the Streatfield Committee,\* sentencers said that passing sentence was one of the most difficult judicial duties; and with a wide range of sentences available, and increasingly sophisticated and sometimes conflicting objectives to be taken into account, it is likely that some variation must occur.

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#### Footnote

In nearly every question dealt with in this chapter, Magistrates' Courts were defined as courts which deal with less serious offences, and Higher Courts were defined as courts which deal with serious offences. It is possible that this reiteration may have contributed in part to the differences found between answers to questions about the two types of court.

\* Report of the Interdepartmental Committee on the Business of the Criminal Courts, 1961.

Roger Hood's study of twelve urban magistrates' courts found a wide variation in sentencing policy.\* No comparable study however, has been carried out on individual judges in this country.\*\*

The sentencing policies of judges were thought by the sample to be less subject to variation than the sentencing policies of magistrates. 67% of informants thought that most judges would give similar sentences for similar offences, while only 40% thought this was true of magistrates.

Nevertheless just under a third of the sample thought that the sentence a man gets in a higher court does depend a lot on which judge hears the case, and this proportion stayed fairly constant throughout the demographic sub-groups.

There was considerable difference of opinion however about sentencing in magistrates' courts - notably between the different Socio-economic groups.

Table 20

Impressions of sentencing in magistrates' courts  
- analysed by Socio-economic status, Level of  
Education and Sex

Q.19 Thinking of all sorts of offences - do you think the sentence a person gets, depends a lot on which magistrate hears the case, or do you think most magistrates would give about the same sentence?

	Total	S. E. G.					Education		Sex	
		1	2	3	4	5	Higher	Lower	Male	Female
Base of percentage: all informants	1900	91	151	452	387	321	390	1507	913	987
<u>% of informants</u> <u>saying that</u>	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
- the sentence a man gets depends a lot on which magistrate hears the case	57	76	64	55	63	51	64	55	61	53
- most magistrates would give the same sentence	40	23	35	42	35	46	34	42	37	43
Other answer/ don't know	3	1	1	3	2	3	2	3	2	4

\* Sentencing in Magistrates' Courts - R. Hood. 1962.

\*\* But Nigel Walker in his book "Crime and Punishment in Britain" quotes research in America by Professor Edward Green in 1961 of eighteen Philadelphia judges, which showed that despite some degree of uniformity in the length of sentence imposed, there was variation in their choice of penal measures.

The Higher managerial and professional group was the most likely to say that the sentence depends on which magistrate hears the case, and less than a quarter of them thought that most magistrates give the same sentence. White-collar workers and the Unskilled were more likely than other groups to think most magistrates give the same sentence for similar offences. A possible reason for this is discussed below.

Better educated informants were more likely than the less well educated to think that magistrates' sentences for similar offences vary. And a higher proportion of men than women thought this.

Age was not associated with informants' opinions about sentencing in magistrates' courts.

The following table shows the association between experience of a magistrate's court (in any capacity) and experience as a defendant (most of which had been in a magistrate's court), and informants' impressions of the variation in sentencing policy of these courts.

Table 21

Impressions of sentencing in magistrates' courts  
- analysed by experience of magistrates' courts  
and experience as a defendant

- Q.19 Thinking of all sorts of offences - do you think the sentence a person gets, depends a lot on which magistrate hears the case, or do you think most magistrates would give about the same sentence?

	Total	Experience of magistrates' courts		Experience as a defendant	
		Had attended a magistrate's court	Had not attended a magistrate's court	Had appeared as a defendant	Had not appeared as a defendant
Base of percentage: all informants	1900	688	1212	257	1643
<u>% of informants saying that</u>	%	%	%	%	%
- the sentence a man gets depends a lot on which magistrate hears the case	57	62	54	65	56
- most magistrates would give the same sentence	40	36	42	33	41
Other answer/ don't know	3	2	4	2	3

As this table shows, people who had actually been in a magistrate's court in session, were more likely than those who had not, to think that sentences vary with the individual magistrate. Similarly people who had appeared in court as defendants were more likely than those who had not, to think that magistrates' sentences vary.

It is possible that experience as a defendant may be associated with the distribution shown in Table 21 above, where a higher proportion of White-collar and Unskilled manual workers than any other group thought that most magistrates would give the same sentence. It will be remembered that these two groups also had in common the fact that they were less likely than others to have been a defendant in a court of law.

The 57% of the sample who thought that the sentence a person gets depends a lot on which magistrate hears the case, were asked whether they thought it should or should not be like this; and those who thought it should not, were further asked what should be done about it.

Nine out of ten of those who thought magistrates' sentences vary, thought it should not be like this; and this attitude was shared by the great majority of all demographic groups - although the majority was slightly reduced amongst White-collar and Manual workers, the less well educated and informants in the oldest age group.

The alternative most frequently suggested was fixed sentences. This was mentioned spontaneously by nearly two-thirds of those who thought that magistrates' sentences should not vary. 11% of this group said "magistrates should get better training"; but all other suggestions (which included "have paid magistrates", "have a panel of magistrates", "choose them more carefully") were mentioned by less than 5%.

There was not very much difference between the demographic groups about these suggested alternatives. But the Managerial groups, the better educated and men were slightly more inclined than others to say that magistrates needed better training; and Skilled manual workers were the most likely to favour fixed sentences.

f) The sentencing function as the prerogative of judges and magistrates; and indeterminate sentences.

i) Introduction. Two further questions were asked about prison sentencing - one was designed to find out whether people thought that the sentencing function ought to be the prerogative of judges and magistrates or not, and the other to elicit people's attitudes to the idea of indeterminate sentences.

ii) Should magistrates and judges decide on sentence? Informants were told that at present after a person has been found guilty it is the magistrate or judge who has to decide on the sentence. They were then asked "Do you think it is right or not that the magistrate or judge is the person who decides the sentence?"

Eight out of ten informants thought that the existing system is right, but about one in five thought it is not. This fairly sizeable minority was made up of 13% who just said it is not right, 5% who said it is right for judges to decide on sentence but not magistrates,\* and 1% who said it is right for magistrates but not judges.

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\* In the light of the much greater differences found between informants' attitudes to magistrates and judges and their impressions of lower and higher courts, on other questions, one might have expected a rather larger proportion to have singled out magistrates. This is probably due to the way the question was worded - including both the magistrate and the judge in a single phrase. As a result it is therefore unwise to interpret the answers in comparative terms.

The proportion of informants who approved of the existing system whereby the magistrate or judge decides on sentence, stayed fairly constant throughout the demographic sub-groups. But men were slightly more likely than women and younger than older informants, to say that it is not right.

This acceptance by the majority of informants that the magistrate or judge is the right person to decide on sentence contrasts strongly with their impressions of the variability of sentencing policies, particularly those of magistrates. The following table shows the association between these two attitudes.

Table 22

Whether or not the magistrate or judge is  
the right person to decide on sentence  
- analysed by impressions of sentencing  
in magistrates' and higher courts

Q.27 Do you think it is right or not that the magistrate or judge is the person who decides the sentence?

	Informants who said that		Informants who said that	
	the sentence depends on the magistrate	most magistrates would give the same sentence	the sentence depends on the judge	most judges would give the same sentence
Base of percentage: as indicated	1082	761	1263	561
<u>% of informants saying that</u>	%	%	%	%
- it is right	72	88	75	82
- it is not right	17	7	17	11
- it is right for judges but not for magistrates	7	2	4	5
- it is right for magistrates but not for judges	1	1	1	6
Other answer/ don't know	3	2	3	2

As this table shows, those who thought that the sentencing policies of either magistrates or judges varied with the individual magistrate or judge, were more likely than those who did not, to feel that it is not right for the magistrate and/or judge to decide on sentence. Nevertheless rather more than seven out of ten of those who thought there was variation in sentencing policy, still thought the magistrate or judge should make the decision.

And further analysis shows that even amongst the 51% of the sample who thought the variation in magistrates' sentencing policy was undesirable, seven out of ten still thought the magistrate or judge is the right person to decide on sentence.

This suggests that even despite criticism of variation in sentencing policy, most people have a fairly firm belief in the traditional role of the magistrate or judge in the ritual of passing sentence, and that any radical change in the administration of the sentencing function would need careful preparation.

The 19% of the sample who said it is not right for magistrates and/or judges to decide on the sentence were asked what they thought should happen instead.

Table 23

Suggested alternatives to the existing system  
whereby the magistrate or judge decides on sentence

Q.27a. (If you think it is not right that the magistrate or judge is the person who decides the sentence)  
What do you think should happen instead?

Base of %: All informants who said that it was not right for the magistrate and/or judge to decide on the sentence.	364
<u>% of informants saying that:</u>	<u>%</u>
- it should be decided by more than one person/a committee	22
- should have several/a panel of judges/magistrates; magistrates should have trained legal advisers	15
- decision should be made or discussed by representative body of people/outside experts/doctors/welfare/ probation officers/prison officers/police	9
- the jury should decide or have a say in decision	20
- should be standardised system of sentences	19
- magistrates should have legal training	5
- decision should be made by judge/other person superior to magistrate	4
other answers	9
don't know	4

Note: The percentages add to more than 100, because some informants gave more than one answer.

As this table shows, apart from a small proportion who thought that magistrates in particular should not decide on sentence because of the inadequacy of their legal training, or that the sentence should be decided by someone 'superior' to them anyway - the great majority of these informants were really objecting to the idea of the sentence being the arbitrary decision of one man, and they thought that this should be replaced either by some form of collective responsibility, advice from a body of experts or a 'fixed tariff' system.

iii) When should the length of the sentence be fixed and who should fix it?  
Informants were asked "Supposing it is decided to send a man to prison, should the length of sentence always be fixed at the time he's found guilty, or should it sometimes be decided later, when he's spent some time in prison?" Those who thought it could sometimes be decided later, were then asked "Who should then decide the length of the sentence?"

For most offences, imprisonment must be for a stated period (although of course in practice a large number of prisoners do not in the end serve the sentences they are given because of remission for good behaviour). And, apart from any delay for reports or enquiries to be made - during which time the prisoner may be remanded in custody - this stated period of imprisonment is pronounced at the time of conviction or as soon after that as possible.

There are however examples of indeterminate sentences under English law - the most important of which is "life". Life imprisonment is now mandatory for persons aged 18 or over convicted of murder. The decision to release a murderer on licence is taken by the Secretary of State, but he can only do so after consultation with the Lord Chief Justice and the trial judge, if available, and if recommended to do so by the independent Parole Board. In practice the prison authorities, probation officers and psychiatrists give advice on the decision to release.

Other examples of indeterminate sentences are young murderers under 18 who may be detained under Her Majesty's Pleasure, and the mentally abnormal who may be committed (under a Hospital or Guardianship order) to a mental hospital, from which they cannot be discharged without the approval of the hospital or medical officer, or under a Restriction Order, whereby the Secretary of State must give his consent to their release.

Borstal training is an indeterminate custodial sentence with a maximum, and as the standard medium-term custodial sentence for persons aged 17 to 21 is widely used.

Of the various precedents described, borstal training is the only one likely to have familiarised people, prior to interview, with the idea of indeterminate sentencing of mentally normal people to any form of penal institution for crimes other than murder. Whether or not the existence of this precedent has made some people more receptive to the idea of indeterminate prison sentences for some men is a matter for conjecture.

Three out of four informants thought the length of the sentence should always be fixed at the time of conviction and only just under a quarter thought it should sometimes be decided later after a man has spent some time in prison.

Only the Socio-economic status of informants was associated with their answers to this question. Over a third of the Higher managerial and professional group thought the length of sentence could sometimes be decided later, as compared with one in five of Manual workers.

It is perhaps not surprising that only such a small proportion of informants thought the length of the sentence should sometimes be decided later. The concept of indeterminate sentencing is such an unfamiliar one in English law and even 'life' is probably not considered as indeterminate by most people, in that they probably think that a man who is given this sentence can reckon on serving only so many years.

The possibility cannot be ruled out that some of the informants who said that the sentence should always be decided at the time a man is found guilty were interpreting this question in a punitive way, i.e. "that's the term he's given when he's found guilty and that's the term he should serve".\* Conversely it is also possible that at least some of them thought that it is more humane to tell a man his fate and not keep him in suspense.

The most likely explanation however is that since the majority of informants thought that the magistrate or judge is the right person to decide on sentence, they would be less likely to see the point of leaving the decision about the length of the sentence until later.

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\* However in Section G of the questionnaire (Prisons), informants were told that "nowadays most prisoners if they behave themselves, only serve two-thirds of the sentence they're given in court"; they were then asked whether they thought all prisoners who have been given sentences of three or more years and who are not dangerous should have to serve at least two-thirds of their sentence or whether some could be let out earlier under supervision. 47% of the sample thought that some could be let out earlier under supervision.

The following table supports this explanation.

Table 24

When the length of the sentence should be fixed  
- analysed by whether or not the magistrate or  
judge is thought to be the right person to  
decide on sentence

- Q.26 Supposing it is decided to send a man to prison, should the length of the sentence always be fixed at the time he's found guilty, or should it sometimes be decided later when he's spent some time in prison?

	Informants who said the magistrate or judge is the right person to decide on sentence.	Informants who said the magistrate and/or judge is not the right person to decide on sentence.
Base of percentage: as indicated	1500	364
<u>% of informants saying that</u> <u>the length of the sentence</u>	%	%
- should always be decided when a man is found guilty	77	64
- should sometimes be decided later, when he's spent some time in prison	21	34
don't know	2	2

It can be seen from this table that people who thought it was right for the magistrate or judge to decide on sentence were much more likely than those who thought it was not, to say that the length of the sentence should always be decided on conviction.

The 2% of the sample who said that the length of the sentence should sometimes be decided later, after a man has spent some time in prison, were asked who should then decide the length of the sentence. Table 25 shows their answers, in total only, since the number of informants involved is too small for further analysis.

Table 25

Who should decide the length of the sentence,  
if this decision were to be made after a man  
has spent some time in prison?

Q.26a. (If the length of the sentence should sometimes be decided later after a man has spent some time in prison) who should then decide the length of the sentence?

Base of percentage: informants who said the length of the sentence should sometimes be decided later	434
<u>% of informants saying the length of the sentence should be decided by:</u>	%
- the magistrate or judge	47
- the prison authorities	47
- a board or committee	14
- probation officer	2
- the jury	2
other answer	6
don't know	3

- Note
- a) The percentages add to more than 100% because some informants gave more than one answer.
  - b) The 47% who said the magistrate or judge, includes some people who specified the same one who tried the case in the first place, some who did not and 1% who specified a different one.

As this table shows, just under half the informants who were asked this question said spontaneously that the prison authorities should decide on the length of sentence, but an equal proportion thought that even after a man has spent some time in prison, it should still be the magistrate or judge who makes the decision.

A number of these informants gave more than one answer, and further analysis indicates that 15% of those who thought the length of the sentence should sometimes be decided later, thought this decision should be made by the magistrate or judge in conjunction with the prison authorities or a probation officer.

32% of this group mentioned the prison authorities or a probation officer without mentioning the magistrate or judge, which suggests that for these informants his sentencing function is completely replaced by observation and reports about a man's behaviour and character from people who have had a chance to get to know him.

Further analysis also shows that 32% of this group mentioned the magistrate or judge only. They might have meant to imply that the decision should be made by them after advice or enquiries but they did not say so. And it is certainly clear that for these informants the magistrate's or judge's role in the sentencing process overrides all other experts'.

g) The Magistrate

i) Introduction. It has been shown in the last section that magistrates' sentences were thought to be variable by almost six out of ten informants, and that the majority of people who thought this did not consider it desirable. This chapter deals with people's impressions of magistrates in other respects - the legal training they get, the qualities they need to help them in their function of passing sentence, and their representativeness (or lack of it) of the community as a whole.

ii) The training of magistrates. Informants were asked how much training in law they thought most magistrates get, and were prompted - "quite a lot, or a fair amount, or very little, or no training". They were also asked if there was anything else, apart from training in law, that they thought magistrates need to help them give the right sentences to people.

Stipendiary magistrates (of whom there are numerically few)\* are required to have legal qualifications, but lay justices are not. The training of Justices was not officially or formally considered before the appointment of the Royal Commission on Justices of the Peace in 1946. In 1952 the Lord Chancellor's Office circulated a Model scheme for Elementary training to every Magistrates' Courts Committee in England and Wales, but individual Justices were not bound to undertake the training provided for them. A course of instruction was then prepared and sent to them by post.

From 1956 the Lord Chancellor's Department sent to newly appointed Justices a booklet entitled "Notes for New Magistrates", and from 1964 copies of the Home Office handbook "The Sentence of the Court" were sent to every Justice on the active list, and from then on to every newly appointed Justice.\*\*

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\* But, since stipendiary magistrates sit daily and full-time, the proportion of cases heard by them is disproportionate to their numbers. In so far as the question on training was answered in terms of the local personal experiences of informants or their friends, persons living in certain areas (notably the inner London boroughs) could well have formed the correct impression that those magistrates of whom they know were legally trained.

\*\* This information was taken from "The Training of Justices of the Peace in England and Wales" 1965.

Since 1st January 1966 all newly appointed Justices, however, are required by law to undergo a course of basic training - to help them to understand the nature of their duties, to obtain a sufficient knowledge of the law to follow normal cases, to acquire a working knowledge of the rules of evidence and to understand the nature and purpose of sentencing. Also included in this basic training are visits to penal institutions.

Whether or not informants knew this much, and whether, if they did, this basic training can objectively be considered "quite a lot, a fair amount, very little or no training" are both matters for speculation. However, as with other questions in this section on Courts, it is people's impressions that are important.

Just over half the sample thought that magistrates get quite a lot or a fair amount of legal training (which probably means that they thought it adequate). But a substantial proportion (38%) thought they get very little or no legal training (which almost certainly means they thought it inadequate).

Irrespective of their views about the amount of legal training magistrates get, rather more than half the sample thought that something else, apart from training in law, is needed to help them give the right sentence.

There were considerable differences of opinion between the sub-groups of the sample on both these questions.

The higher an informant's Socio-economic status and Level of education, the more likely he was to consider a magistrate's legal training inadequate. Only 4-11% of the Managerial groups thought magistrates get quite a lot of training in law, compared with 32-40% of Manual workers. Those with higher education were half as likely as those with less education to think magistrates get quite a lot of legal training, but twice as likely to think they get no training at all.

Similarly, the higher an informant's Socio-economic status and Level of education, the more likely he was to think that a magistrate needs something other than legal training to help him pass sentence.

This table also shows that the Managerial groups and the better educated were equally likely to think a magistrate's training inadequate in legal terms, as insufficient on its own to enable him to pass the right sentence. On the other hand, White-collar and Manual workers, and the less well educated were readier to accept the adequacy of his legal training than his ability to pass sentence without some additional form of help.

Possible reasons for this are shown in answers to another question, and discussed further, following table 27.

Table 26

Opinions about magistrates' legal training, and  
anything else they might need to help them pass sentence  
 - analysed by Socio-economic status and Level of education

Q.22 How much training in law do you think most magistrates get- quite a lot, or a fair amount, or very little or no training?

Q.23 Is there anything, apart from training in law, that you think magistrates need to help them give the right sentence to people?

	Total	S. E. G.					Education	
		1	2	3	4	5	Higher	Lower
Base of percentage: all informants	1900	91	151	452	387	321	390	1507
<u>% of informants</u> <u>saying that</u> <u>magistrates</u>	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
- get quite a lot of training in law	30) )53	4) )23	11) )26	25) )49	32) )55	40) )66	15) )33	34) )58
- a fair amount	23)	19)	15)	24)	23)	26)	18)	24)
- very little	26) )38	45) )73	46) )67	29) )41	28) )38	16) )24	40) )60	22) )32
- no training in law	12)	28)	21)	12)	10)	8)	20)	10)
other answer/ don't know	9	4	7	10	7	10	7	10
- need something else to help them give the right sentence	53	78	69	59	48	36	67	49
- do not need anything else to help them give the right sentence	36	19	26	31	42	49	28	39
don't know	11	3	5	10	10	15	5	12

Table 27

Opinions about magistrates' legal training and anything else they might need to help them pass sentence - analysed by Age and Sex

Q.22 How much training in law do you think most magistrates get - quite a lot, or a fair amount, or very little or no training?

Q.23 Is there anything, apart from training in law, that you think magistrates need to help them give the right sentence to people?

	Total	Age				Sex	
		21-30	31-40	41-50	51-69	Male	Female
Base of percentage: all informants	1900	313	409	438	736	913	987
<u>% of informants saying that magistrates:</u>	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
- get quite a lot of training in law	30) )53	39) )62	32) )54	30) )50	24) )49	23) )44	37) )62
- a fair amount	23)	23)	22)	20)	25)	21)	25)
- very little	26) )38	23) )32	25) )37	27) )42	27) )39	36) )50	17) )27
- no training in law	12)	9)	12)	15)	12)	14)	10)
other answer/ don't know	9	6	9	8	12	6	11
- need something else to help them give the right sentence	53	58	56	55	48	56	50
- do not need anything else to help them give the right sentence	36	35	36	36	37	37	36
don't know	11	7	8	9	15	7	14

The younger the informant the more likely he was to say that magistrates get quite a lot or a fair amount of legal training, but conversely the more likely he was to say that magistrates need something apart from this to help them pass sentence.

Men were fairly equally divided about the amount of training in law a magistrate gets, but women were more than twice as likely to think it adequate, as inadequate. But a slightly higher proportion of men than women thought he needs something more than this to help him give the right sentence.

The Type of area in which informants lived was not associated with their answers to these questions, nor indeed with any other questions dealt with in this chapter.

However, experience of magistrates' courts in any capacity, and experience as a defendant (and this had mostly occurred in a magistrate's court) appeared to have affected informants' impressions.

iii) Special qualities needed by magistrates. A higher proportion of those who had attended a magistrate's court in session, than those who had not, thought a magistrate gets inadequate legal training, and also that he needs help of some kind, other than training in law, in giving the right sentence to the people he has convicted.

Over half of those people who admitted to having appeared in court charged with an offence thought that magistrates get little or no legal training, as opposed to just over a third of those who had not. And those who had been defendants were more likely than those who had not, to think that a magistrate needs some other kind of help in passing sentence.

The 5% of the sample who thought that apart from training in law, magistrates need other help in giving the right sentence, were asked what else magistrates need.

The most frequently occurring answer, given spontaneously by 38% of this group, was "He needs to know more about ordinary people". 30% said he needs such qualities as a sense of justice, compassion, honesty, insight or common sense. 20% said he needs to have experience of life and people, and the same proportion mentioned a need for some sort of training in social work or psychology, or experience of working with prison officers or welfare officers.

Only 9% of this group said he needs to know more about criminals specifically, and only 5% said he ought to know more about prisons. All other answers were given by less than 5% of this group.

Some of these answers of course overlap, and some informants gave more than one answer, but further analysis shows that about seven out of ten of this group mentioned personal qualities of some kind which relate to the choice of a magistrate as a man, as opposed to less than three in ten who mentioned the kind of basic training he might be given, once chosen. In other words the process of making the right sentencing decision is thought to depend on a magistrate's innate personal qualities, rather than to be something that can be purely objectively approached through training.

Table 28

Opinions about magistrates' legal training and anything else they might need to help them pass sentence  
- analysed by experience of Magistrates' courts and experience as a defendant

- Q.22 How much training in law do you think most magistrates get - quite a lot, or a fair amount, or very little or no training?
- Q.23 Is there anything, apart from training in law, that you think magistrates need to help them give the right sentence to people?

	Total	Experience of magistrates' courts		Experience as a defendant	
		Had attended a magistrate's court	Had not attended a magistrate's court	Had appeared as a defendant	Had not appeared as a defendant
Base of percentage: all informants	1900	688	1212	257	1643
<u>% of informants saying that magistrates:</u>	%	%	%	%	%
- get quite a lot of training in law	30) ) 53	23) ) 45	34) ) 58	20) ) 40	31) ) 54
- a fair amount	23)	22)	24)	20)	23)
- very little	26) ) 38	32) ) 48	22) ) 32	35) ) 53	25) ) 36
- no training in law	12)	16)	10)	18)	11)
other answer/ don't know	9	7	10	7	10
-----					
- need something else to help them give the right sentence	53	59	50	61	52
- do not need anything else to help them give the right sentence	36	34	37	34	37
don't know	11	7	13	5	11

This is rather inconsistent with the fact that 57% of the sample thought that the sentence a man gets depends on which magistrate hears the case, and that the majority of this group thought this undesirable. It may suggest that some informants think that magistrates are not chosen carefully enough in the first place - although it will be remembered that most people thought fixed sentences were the answer to the problem, and in fact only a tiny minority said that magistrates should be chosen more carefully.

Although most answers given by all the demographic sub-groups centred around a magistrate's personal qualities, there were some differences of emphasis.

It can be seen from this table that Manual workers and the less well educated were less likely than Non-manual workers and the better educated, to think a magistrate needs training of some kind to help him pass sentence; but the attribute mentioned most frequently by Manual workers and the less well educated was that "he needs to know more about ordinary people".

This may help to explain the fact (already referred to) that Manual workers and the less well educated were less worried about a magistrate's legal training than his ability to pass the right sentence without some other help. He seems to be perceived by these informants as cut off from "ordinary people" and therefore, through lack of understanding, possibly less competent to pass sentence on those very people who appear before him most frequently.

A much higher proportion of women than men thought magistrates need to know more about ordinary people. Otherwise the answers to this question did not vary greatly with Sex.

Age was not associated with informants' answers to this question.

iv) How representative of the community magistrates are thought to be, and how representative they ought to be. Informants were asked whether they thought magistrates as people are "nearly all well-off, or mostly not well-off, or do they include well-off and not so well-off about equally?"

The Royal Commission on Justices of the Peace 1946-1948 produced the following occupational classification of male justices then in office: professional - 21%; employers - 30%; in business on their own account - 17%; salaried - 14%; wage earners - 15%.

One of the main recommendations of the Report was that "they should be representative of various sections of the community", and since that time the proportions have probably changed, but the Lord Chancellor's Office has stated that no later figures are available.

Even if people did not know about the financial status of most magistrates, common-sense might have led some at least to suppose that from a purely practical viewpoint, it tends to be the well-off who are most easily able to spare the time to discharge the unpaid duty of a J.P.

Just over half the sample thought that magistrates include the well-off and the not so well-off about equally. However a very sizeable proportion (40% of the sample) thought they are nearly all well-off. 3% thought (rather curiously) that they are mostly not well-off.

Table 29

What else magistrates need, apart from  
legal training, to help them pass sentence  
- analysed by Socio-economic status,  
Level of education and Sex

- Q.23a) What else do magistrates need (apart from training in law to help them give the right sentences to people)?

	Total	S.E.G.				Education		Sex	
		1+2	3	4	5	Higher	Lower	Male	Female
Base of %: all informants who said magistrates need something apart from training in law to help them give the right sentence.	1009	174	269	189	118	262	746	516	493
<u>% of informants saying magistrates need</u>	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
- to know more about ordinary people	38	28	36	38	48	31	41	32	45
- a sense of justice/compassion/honesty/insight/common sense	30	33	36	25	27	31	30	30	30
- experience of life and people	20	21	19	15	21	24	18	19	20
- training in social work/psychology/experience of working with prison officers/welfare officers	20	25	22	12	13	28	17	18	22
- to know more about criminals	9	6	13	6	9	9	8	7	10
- to know more about prisons	5	6	4	7	4	5	4	7	2

- Note
- This table only shows answers given by 5% or more of informants in any group.
  - The first column of the S.E.G. breakdown is an average of the Higher managerial and professional (S.E.G. 1) and Lower managerial (S.E.G. 2) groups because of the small size of this sub-sample.

It is somewhat surprising, in the light of the greater emphasis placed by Manual workers and the less well educated on a magistrate's need to know more about ordinary people, that they were no more likely than informants of higher socio-economic status or the better educated to think that magistrates are nearly all well-off.

Age and Sex were the only demographic variables associated with informants' answers to this question.

Table 30

The financial status of most magistrates  
- analysed by Age and Sex

Q.21 Do you think that magistrates as people are nearly all well-off, or mostly not well-off, or do they include well-off and not so well-off about equally?

	Total	A g e				S e x	
		21-30	31-40	41-50	51-69	Male	Female
Base of percentage: all informants	1900	313	409	438	736	913	987
<u>% of informants saying that magistrates:</u>	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
- are nearly all well-off	40	50	46	37	33	44	35
- include well-off and not so well-off about equally	52	43	46	56	56	49	55
- are mostly not well-off	3	2	3	3	4	4	3
other answer	1	1	2	1	1	1	1
don't know	4	4	3	3	6	2	6

This table shows that the younger an informant the more likely he was to think magistrates are nearly all well-off, while informants over 40 were much more likely to think that they are about an equal mixture.

A higher proportion of men than women thought magistrates are nearly all well-off, but women were more inclined to think that they are about an equal mixture.

Table 31 shows the association between experience of magistrates' courts, and experience as a defendant, with informants' impressions of the financial status of most magistrates.

Table 31

The financial status of most magistrates  
- analysed by experience of magistrates'  
courts and experience as a defendant

Q.21 Do you think that magistrates as people are nearly all well-off, or mostly not well-off, or do they include well-off and not so well-off about equally?

	Total	Experience of magistrates' courts		Experience as a defendant	
		Had attended a magistrate's court	Had not attended a magistrate's court	Had appeared as a defendant	Had not appeared as a defendant
Base of percentage: all informants	1900	688	1212	257	1643
<u>% of informants saying that magistrates:</u>	%	%	%	%	%
- are nearly all well-off	40	43	38	48	38
- include well-off and not so well-off about equally	52	49	53	47	53
- are mostly not well-off	3	3	3	3	3
other answer	1	2	1	1	1
don't know	4	3	5	1	5

People who had attended a magistrate's court in session, in any capacity, were only slightly more likely than those who had not to think that magistrates are nearly all well-off. However people who had appeared in court accused of an offence were considerably more likely than those who had not to think magistrates are nearly all well-off.

All informants who had given their impression of the financial status of most magistrates, were asked whether they thought it should be like this or whether magistrates should include a different mixture of people.

Table 32

Agreement or disagreement with the  
perceived financial status of magistrates

Q.21a. Do you think it should be like this, (that magistrates are nearly all well-off, mostly not well-off, or include well-off and not so well-off about equally) or do you think they should include a different mixture of people?

	Informants who said magistrates ARE		
	Nearly all well-off	About an equal mixture of the well-off and not so well-off.	Mostly not well-off
Base of percentage: as indicated	750	983	59
<u>% of informants who thought magistrates SHOULD:</u>	%	%	(No.) %
- be like this	38	85	(32) 54
- include a different mixture of people	59	12	(27) 46
don't know	3	3	(-) -

As this table shows, the great majority of people who thought that magistrates are about equally mixed in terms of financial status, thought this is the way it should be. And almost six out of ten of those who thought magistrates are nearly all well-off, thought they should include a different mixture of people.

However almost four out of ten of those informants who thought magistrates are nearly all well-off, thought this was the way it should be. There are several possible explanations for this - it might be that they considered it impractical for magistrates to be other than nearly all well-off, because of the demands on their time. Or it may be that they associated money with education and thought this vital; or they may have felt that only someone with money would have sufficient standing in the community to command respect.

The 59 informants who thought that magistrates are mostly not well-off, were about equally divided between approval and disapproval of this perceived state of affairs.

All those informants who thought magistrates should include a different mixture of people were asked in what way they thought they should be different.

Because some informants gave more than one answer, and some of the ideas overlap, the answers have been grouped to eliminate as much duplication as possible.

Table 33

In what way magistrates should be different  
- analysed by disagreement with their  
perceived financial status

Q.21ai. (If magistrates are nearly all well-off or they include well-off and not so well-off about equally, and it should be a different mixture) different in what ways?

	Informants who said magistrates ARE	
	Nearly all well-off, but should <u>not</u> be like this.	An equal mixture, but should <u>not</u> be like this.
Base of %: as indicated	439	121
<u>% of informants saying magistrates SHOULD:</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
- be a cross section of the community	31	12
- include ordinary working-class people	19	14
- include well-off and not well-off	16	2*
Any mention of above	64	28
- be educated/professional people/ middle classes	20	22
- be trained/have professional training	9	24
Either of above	29	46
- have a sense of justice/compassion/ honesty/insight/commonsense	3	6
- be anyone who is suitable	7	7
- have experience of life and people	3	7
Any mention of above	12	19
- be paid for the job	4	10
- other answers	8	19
- don't know	1	5

- Note a) The forty-six informants who thought magistrates are mostly not well-off but should not be like this, have not been shown, since the group is too small to permit further meaningful analysis.
- b) The starred 2% who said that magistrates are an equal mixture of the well-off and not well-off, but should not be like this and then went on to say that magistrates should include the well-off and the not well-off, should probably be discounted as either a misunderstanding of the question, or an error of classification at some stage. (In this sub-sample of only 121 cases they represent two persons).

As this table shows, amongst people who had the impression that magistrates are nearly all well-off and thought it should be different from this - the highest proportion thought they ought to be in some way more representative, either in a wider sense of being a cross-section of the community, or else specifically in terms of income or class structure.

A rather smaller proportion of this first group thought that either education or training was a more important criterion than money.

However the distribution of answers given by the second group of informants - those who had the impression that magistrates are an equal mixture in terms of their financial status, but thought it should be a different mixture from this - suggests that this group was composed of two rather different types of informants, with somewhat opposing ideas. First (and mainly) there appeared to be people who thought that an equal mixture of well-off and not so well-off magistrates does not allow sufficient importance to be attached to education and training. And secondly there appeared to be people who felt that even an equal mixture makes magistrates unrepresentative, since this equal mixture does not reflect the distribution of wealth in the community as a whole. (Or it may be that the phrase 'not so well-off' was thought to be only a degree away from 'well-off' thus automatically excluding a section of "ordinary working-class people" whom they thought ought to be represented on the bench.)

It was seen earlier that magistrates are thought to be an equal mixture of the well-off and the not so well-off by a small majority of the sample (52%). It can now be seen however that a larger majority of the sample (61%) thought magistrates ought to be either an equal mixture of the well-off and the not so well-off, or representative of the community as a whole in some other sense. Only 15% of the sample thought that magistrates ought to be nearly all well-off, as opposed to the 40% who had the impression that this is what they are at the moment. The rest of the sample mainly thought they should be trained, or educated people or have particular personal qualities.

h) Equality before the law

i) Introduction. This section discusses people's impressions of how justly the law works - whether or not the processes and personnel of the law deal equally with rich and poor alike or whether there is any bias in favour of one or the other. It also discusses people's impressions of the rightness of juries' decisions.

Informants were told to imagine that a well-off person and a poorer person had both broken the law in the same way. They were then asked if they thought they would get the same treatment from the police or whether they thought one would be treated better than the other. If they said that one would be treated better, they were asked which one.

This question was repeated about the treatment they would get from magistrates, then from judges and from juries.

They were also asked whether the well-off and the poorer person would stand an equal chance of getting a good lawyer to defend them, and also whether they would both have an equal chance of getting lawyer to defend them at all.

Table 34 summarises the associations between peoples' beliefs about the variability of magistrates' sentences, and their opinions about other items associated with the training and financial status of magistrates.

Table 34

The variability of magistrates' sentences  
- analysed by other impressions of magistrates

- Q.19 Thinking of all sorts of offences - do you think the sentence a person gets, depends a lot on which magistrate hears the case or do you think most magistrates would give about the same sentence?

	Informants who said that magistrates					
	Get very little or no training in law	Get quite a lot or a fair amount of training in law	Need something other than training in law to help them pass the right sentence	Do not need anything other than training in law to help them pass the right sentence	Are nearly all well-off	Are about an equal mixture of the well-off and not so well-off
Base of percentage: as indicated	721	1000	1006	691	750	983
<u>% of informants saying that</u>	%	%	%	%	%	%
- the sentence a man gets depends a lot on which magistrate hears the case	73	46	66	46	63	54
- most magistrates would give the same sentence	26	51	33	52	35	44
other answer/ don't know	1	3	1	2	2	2

Note The bases of percentage do not add to the total sample because of the exclusion of informants who gave other answers or did not know.

This table shows that although people who thought magistrates need something other than legal training to help them pass sentence, and those who thought magistrates are nearly all well-off were more likely than others to think the sentence a man gets depends on the individual magistrate, the impression most closely associated with the variability of magistrates' sentences was that they get very little or no training in law.

ii) Equality of opportunity for defence. A small majority (52% of the sample) thought that the amount of money a person had would make no difference to their chance of getting someone to defend them; but a large majority (72%) thought that the well-off person would stand a better chance of getting a good lawyer to defend them.

Although a slightly higher proportion of the Higher managerial and professional group, informants in the youngest age group and men thought that someone with money would stand a better chance of getting a good lawyer, these differences were not very marked; and never more than 28% of any demographic subgroup thought that both the well-off and the poorer person would stand an equal chance.

People's impressions of equality of opportunity for legal representation at all, however, did differ particularly in relation to their Socio-economic status and Level of education.

Table 35

Equality of opportunity for  
obtaining legal representation  
- analysed by Socio-economic  
status and Level of education

Q.24F Do you think a well-off person and a poorer person (who had both broken the law in the same way) would both have an equal chance of getting someone to defend them or would one have a better chance than the other? If "one a better chance" Which one?

	Total	S. E. G.					Education	
		1	2	3	4	5	Higher	Lower
Base of percentage: all informants	1900	91	151	452	387	321	390	1507
<u>% of informants saying that</u>	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
- a well-off person would have a better chance of getting someone to defend him	46	33	36	43	47	55	39	48
- a well-off and a poorer person would have an equal chance	52	67	63	56	52	43	61	50
- a poorer person would have a better chance	1	-	-	-	1	1	0	0
don't know	1	-	1	1	0	1	0	2

As this table shows the lower an informant's Socio-economic status and Level of education the more likely he was to think that the well-off person stands a better chance than the poorer person of obtaining legal representation at all. Indeed whilst only about a third of the Managerial groups thought this, over half the Unskilled had this impression.

A slightly higher proportion of women than men, of younger than older informants and of people living in Conurbations rather than other areas, thought that the well-off person has a better chance of getting someone to defend him.

People who had actually been defendants in a court of law were no more likely than others to think that money made any difference to a man's chances of getting someone to represent him, or to his chances of getting a good lawyer.

iii) Equality of treatment at the hands of the personnel of the law.

The sample as a whole had a much greater faith in the lack of bias of judges than of magistrates. 82% of the sample thought that the well-off person and the poorer person would both get the same treatment from judges, but a much smaller proportion (58%) thought they would get equal treatment from magistrates.

Although at least three quarters of all demographic subgroups thought that judges would give unbiased treatment, there was a tendency for this belief to decline in frequency with Socio-economic status and Level of education. Manual workers and the less well educated were more likely than others to think that the well-off person would get better treatment at the hands of a judge.

The opinions of both sexes were identically distributed and the four age groups varied little in their ideas about a judge's treatment of offenders of different financial status.

However the different socio-economic groups, and men and women varied considerably in their opinions about a magistrate's treatment of the rich and the poor.

The Higher managerial and professional group and Skilled manual workers were more likely than other groups to think that magistrates give better treatment to the well-off. But White-collar workers and the Unskilled were more likely to think that a magistrate treats people in the same way, regardless of their financial status. (It will be remembered that White-collar workers and the Unskilled were less likely than other groups to have appeared in court accused of an offence.)

A much higher proportion of men than women thought that magistrates give better treatment to the well-off.

Neither Level of education nor Age was associated with people's impressions of the way magistrates treat the rich and the poor offender.

People who had appeared in court accused of an offence were slightly more likely than those who had not, to think that well-off people get better treatment at the hands of judges (17% as opposed to 11%), and much more likely to think they get better treatment from magistrates (47% as opposed to 33%).

Table 36

Equality of treatment in magistrates' courts  
- analysed by Socio-economic status and Sex

	Total	S. E. G.					Sex	
		1	2	3	4	5	Male	Female
Base of percentage: all informants	1900	91	151	452	387	321	913	987
<u>% of informants saying that magistrates</u>	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
- would give better treatment to the well-off person	35	45	37	30	44	34	41	29
- would give the same treatment to the well-off and the poorer person	58	50	52	63	50	58	53	64
- would give better treatment to the poorer person	3	3	6	3	2	3	4	2
don't know	4	2	5	4	4	5	2	5

The police were thought by the sample as a whole to be more biased than either magistrates or judges. 47% of the sample thought that the well-off would get better treatment at the hands of the police\*, as opposed to 33% who thought this of magistrates and only 12% who thought this of judges.

However it was only between men and women, and people who had been defendants and those who had not, that opinions about the police varied noticeably. 52% of men thought that the police would give better treatment to the well-off, as opposed to only 43% of women; and 56% of defendants thought this as opposed to only 46% of non-defendants.

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\* In a survey carried out by the Social Survey in 1960 ("The Relations between the police and the Public", which formed Appendix IV to the minutes of evidence to Royal Commission on the Police) people were asked "Some people say that, in dealing with the police, how they treat you depends on who you are. Do you think this is true?" 30% of the sample (2,605 individuals aged 18-65) thought that the police did treat some sections of the public differently, and the majority of these (24% of the sample) spontaneously said that the police were inclined to give preferential treatment to the upper classes, rich or influential people.

The great majority of the sample (82%) thought that the well-off and poorer offender would get exactly the same treatment at the hands of juries. Only 9% thought the well-off would get better treatment, and 5% even thought that the poorer offender would get better treatment.

At least 78% of all demographic sub-groups expressed this belief in the lack of bias of juries - but a slightly higher proportion of the managerial groups, the better educated and younger informants, thought that the poorer person might stand a better chance with juries.

#### i) Juries Decisions

Informants were also asked how often they thought juries make the right decision about the guilt or innocence of the person on trial - nearly always, or in over half the cases, or in less than half, or in very few cases.

Again a large majority of the sample (and there was very little difference between the demographic sub-groups) showed great faith in juries.

However, although 7 out of 10 informants thought they make the right decision always or nearly always, almost a quarter of the sample were rather more reserved in their judgement and thought this happened rather less frequently - i.e. "in over half the cases". But only 4% thought juries make the right decision in less than half or very few cases.

### C. PRISONS AND PRISONERS (Derives principally from Section G of the Schedule)

#### C.1 Introduction

The main purpose of this part of the study was to investigate what people think life in prison is like, to measure the accuracy and extent of their knowledge of the conditions under which prisoners live and to obtain some indication of their picture of the relative laxity or severity of prison life.

Questions were all confined to the subject of male prisoners, and (with the exception of three short questions on open prisons) to prisons in general, since it was felt that the general public would be unable to differentiate adequately between the various types of prisons.

An extension of this section included questions on aid to prisoners' families, attitudes to ex-prisoners and informants' personal reactions to the thought of imprisonment and any experiences they might have had of a similar nature.

As in the section about Courts, it was felt essential to reassure informants that their knowledge was not being tested, so that they would not be over-reluctant to give their impressions in reply to the knowledge questions, even though they were uncertain of the correct answer. So this section contained the following preamble:

"This part is about prison life. People have very different ideas about what goes on in prison and it's not always easy to find out what happens. We are just as interested in finding out in what ways people have got the WRONG ideas about it, as we are in finding out how many know the facts. So would you just give me your general impressions, from what you've read or seen or heard about ORDINARY prisons."

Some questions, had a correct "Yes-No" answer, and it was only possible to accept this exact answer as correct. To other questions (e.g. that on prison arrangements for going to the lavatory) only one answer could be accepted as indicating a correct impression.

At the other extreme were questions to which the answer was in any case an average applicable to most or many prisons and it was felt that it would be too much to expect even the most knowledgeable informants to give this answer exactly. So an acceptable range was worked out for these questions, within which an informant's estimate was thought to indicate a reasonably accurate impression.

Certain questions which demanded numerical answers could receive a wide range of response indicating either a reasonably accurate impression or varying degrees of over or under estimates. For these questions the interviewers were instructed to say to these informants whose first reply was that they had no idea, "Roughly how many would you guess?", and the range within which informants' answers were considered acceptable was deliberately made quite wide.

Throughout this chapter, wherever these knowledge questions occur, the correct answer and its source have been stated, any 'acceptable range' defined, and attention drawn to any 'guess' questions.

## C.2 Knowledge of male prison population, cost of keeping a man in prison open prisons and escapes.

### a) Male prison population of England and Wales

Informants were asked how many men they thought there were altogether in prisons in England and Wales at that time, and interviewers were instructed to ask them to guess if they had no idea.

The daily average number of men in prison in 1965 (excluding unconvicted prisoners on remand) was 20,123\*. The actual male prison population on 31 December 1965 (again excluding unconvicted prisoners on remand) was 21,241.\* It was decided that answers within the range of 10,000-30,000 constituted an acceptable approximation and showed that an informant's impression was fairly sound.

Almost a third of the sample greatly underestimated the male prison population - 18% put it as low as 5,000 or less. About a quarter answered within the acceptable range of 10,000-30,000, but almost the same proportion overestimated - 12% said over 50,000. 23% of the sample were not even prepared to hazard a guess.

Unskilled manual workers (S.E.G. 5) were least likely to answer within the acceptable range. White collar workers (S.E.G. 3) and Manual workers (S.E.G. 4 & 5) were more likely than the two Managerial groups (S.E.G. 1 & 2) to underestimate, and less likely to overestimate the number of men in prison. In fact amongst informants who answered outside the acceptable range, the majority of White collar and Manual workers underestimated and the majority of those of higher socio-economic status overestimated.

Informants with a Higher level of education were marginally more likely than those with a Lower level of education to overestimate the male prison population.

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\* These figures were taken from the Report on the work of the Prison Department for 1965, published in August, 1966.

Table 37

Estimates of male prison population of England and Wales, analysed by Socio-economic status

Q.59 About how many men would you think there are altogether in prisons in England and Wales now? (If 'no idea') Roughly how many would you guess?

	Total	S. E. G.				
		1	2	3	4	5
Base of percentage: all informants	1904	97	158	434	401	328
<u>% of informants giving answers</u>	%	%	%	%	%	%
Below acceptable range	(32)	(20)	(24)	(30)	(32)	(36)
- 5,000 or less	18	7	12	18	18	19
- over 5,00 to 10,000	14	13	12	13	14	17
Within acceptable range						
- over 10,000 to 30,000	24	32	29	28	26	19
Above acceptable range	(21)	(36)	(31)	(21)	(22)	(18)
- over 30,000 to 50,000	9	15	15	8	10	9
- over 50,000	12	21	16	15	12	9
Don't know and unwilling to hazard a guess	23	12	16	21	20	27

Although there was very little difference between consecutive age groups in the proportion answering within the acceptable range, the younger the informant the more likely he was to underestimate. Over-estimates were similarly distributed in all age-groups - the difference arising from the greater readiness of younger people to hazard an answer at all.

Men were much more likely than women to attempt to answer this question at all, and more likely to answer within the acceptable range. Women were more likely than men to underestimate, but much less likely to overestimate.

The proportion of informants who were not even prepared to guess the number of men in prison, was highest amongst Unskilled manual workers, the less well-educated, the oldest age group and women.

The Type of area in which informants lived made no appreciable difference to their answers to this question.

Table 38

Estimates of male prison population of England  
and Wales analysed by Age and by Sex

Q.59 About how many men would you think there are altogether in prisons in England and Wales now? (If 'no idea') Roughly how many would you guess?

	Total	Age				Sex	
		21-30	31-40	41-50	51-69	Male	Female
Base of percentage: all informants	1904	317	417	454	712	933	971
<u>% of informants giving answers</u>	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Below acceptable range	(32)	(39)	(35)	(32)	(27)	(27)	(36)
- 5,000 or less	18	22	21	17	16	14	22
- over 5,000 to 10,000	14	17	14	15	11	13	14
Within acceptable range							
- over 10,000 to 30,000	24	23	24	25	22	28	19
Above acceptable range	(21)	(21)	(22)	(21)	(22)	(29)	(15)
- over 30,000 to 50,000	9	9	11	9	9	13	6
- over 50,000	12	12	12	12	13	16	9
Don't know and unwilling to hazard a guess	23	17	19	22	29	16	30

b) Cost per week of keeping a man in prison

Informants were asked how much they thought was the total cost of keeping a man in prison for a week - total cost being defined as "including food, accommodation, paying the prison staff, heating and so on."

The average weekly cost per inmate of prisons for the year ended 31st March 1965, was £13. 3. 7d.\* Any informant estimating between £10 and £15 was considered to have a reasonably accurate idea of this cost.

An estimate within the acceptable range of £10 to £15 was given by just over a third of the sample, but about the same proportion thought it cost over £15 (21% estimating at above £20). 16%, however, thought that a man could be kept in prison for a week at a total average cost less than £10.

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\* This figure was taken from Appendix 4 of the Report on the work of the Prison Department for 1965.

Table 39

Estimated weekly cost of keeping a man in prison

Q.58 How much do you think it costs to keep a man in prison for a week - I mean the total cost including food, accommodation, paying the prison staff, heating and so on?

	Total	S. E. C.					Education		Sex	
		1	2	3	4	5	Higher	Lower	Male	Female
Base of percentage: all informants	1904	97	158	434	401	328	409	1489	933	971
<u>% of informants estimating</u>	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Below acceptable range - under £10	16	5	11	17	14	18	11	17	12	19
Within acceptable range - £10 - £15	36	29	37	34	36	41	34	36	37	34
Above acceptable range - over £15 to £20	(39)	(64)	(48)	(42)	(41)	(29)	(51)	(36)	(45)	(34)
over £20	18	28	22	20	19	12	22	17	20	17
Don't know/varies	21	36	26	22	22	17	29	19	25	17
	9	2	4	7	9	12	4	11	6	13

It might be expected that, in the absence of any firm knowledge on the subject, informants would interpret a question about costs in relation to their own standard of living and income; and in fact Higher managerial and professional people were markedly more likely to overestimate the cost of keeping a man in prison for a week than any other group and Unskilled manual workers markedly less likely to do so; and a rather higher proportion of this latter group than any other estimated within the acceptable range.

Similarly the better-educated were much more likely to overestimate than were the less well-educated, although the proportion in each group giving an acceptable estimate was almost identical.

About the same proportion of both sexes gave an estimate within the acceptable range of £10 to £15, but although women were slightly more likely than men to underestimate the cost they were rather less likely to over-estimate it.

c) Open prisons

Informants were asked if they had heard of open prisons and those who had done so were asked to say what sort of men they thought should be sent to them.

90% of the sample said they had heard of open prisons - rather fewer amongst Unskilled workers, the Lower education group, the oldest age group and women.

The main types of offenders mentioned spontaneously by those who had heard of open prisons, as being the most suitable for this kind of detention, are shown in the following table. Only 1% were unable to offer any suggestion as to the sort of men who should be sent to them.

Table 40(i)

Types of offenders thought suitable for open prisons

Q.56b What sort of men do you think should be sent to open prisons?

Base of percentage: all informants who had heard of open prisons	1713
<u>% of informants mentioning spontaneously</u>	<u>%</u>
- petty offenders	47
- non violent offenders	45
- first offenders	34
- trusties	13
- prisoners near the end of their sentence	10

(i) Note This table only shows answers given by 10% or more of informants.

Amongst all demographic groups it was non-violent offenders and those guilty of minor or first offences who were most frequently suggested as men who should safely be allowed to serve their sentence in an open prison. However, Unskilled manual workers were rather less likely to suggest first offenders, and the Higher managerial and professional group more likely to suggest 'trusties' than were other groups; and those in the Higher education group were more likely to specify non-violent offenders than were those in the Lower education group.

As might be expected, many more examples of different types of offenders suitable for open prisons were cited by persons in the two higher S.E.G. groups and by the better educated, than by those in other groups.

d) Escapes

Informants who had heard of open prisons were asked how many men they thought escape from them in a year - 'escape' being defined as getting right away at least for a short time - and all informants were asked how many men they thought escape in a year from prisons of all sorts. Again interviewers encouraged them to attempt a guess if they said at first that they had no idea.

During 1965, 314 male adult and young prisoners escaped from open prisons; and 503 escaped from all types of prisons (this latter figure includes 112 who escaped from escorts, outside working parties and hospitals).<sup>\*</sup> For open prisons any answer between 200 and 400 was considered a reasonably realistic estimate, and for prisons of all types any answer within the range of 400 to 600 was considered acceptable.

A substantial majority of the sample underestimated the number of escapes in a year, from both open prisons and prisons of all types. A sizeable proportion were very wide of the mark, and only a very small minority answered within either of the acceptable ranges.

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<sup>\*</sup> These figures were taken from the Report on the work of the Prison Department 1965.

Of those who had heard of open prisons, only 8% estimated the number of yearly escapes from this type of prison within the acceptable range of 200 to 400. A further 3% gave estimates fairly close to this range, but 61% greatly underestimated the number - 51% saying as few as 50, or even less. Only 2% overestimated the number of escapes from open prisons. 21% were not even prepared to hazard a guess.

For all kinds of prisons (including open prisons) only 7% of the total sample gave the number of yearly escapes in the acceptable range of 400 to 600. A further 10% gave estimates fairly close to this range, but an even larger majority than for open prisons (69% of the total sample) greatly underestimated the number - 53% saying as few as a hundred or even less. Only 1% of the total sample overestimated the number of escapes from prisons of all kinds. 13% would not even attempt to guess.

This overall pattern did not vary very much in any of the demographic sub-groups, although the proportion of answers within the acceptable ranges tended to decrease through the Socio-economic groups and with the Level of education, and men were more likely to give acceptable estimates than were women. Similarly the proportion of informants who were unwilling even to guess varied inversely with the level of acceptable estimates. These differences were most marked in the case of escapes from all types of prisons: and on this question Higher managerial and professional people were rather less likely to underestimate the numbers than any of the other Socio-economic groups.

Although it would be tendentious to draw any complacent conclusions from this tendency greatly to underestimate the number of annual escapes, it nevertheless cannot be solely attributed to people's difficulty in answering numerical questions (particularly in view of the fact that it was shared by all types of informants). Just under a quarter of the sample overestimated the male prison population, and about a quarter guessed within the acceptable range, and in this case they were dealing with much larger numbers, which it is likely they would find more difficult to estimate.

It is possible that people's impressions of the figures are largely formed by the wide publicity received by a relatively small number of "sensational" cases, but in the writer's opinion it is also possible that escapes simply do not loom quite as large in people's minds as is sometimes thought.

### C.3 Knowledge and opinion about prison conditions

#### a) Cells and sanitary arrangements

Informants were asked whether a man in prison usually has a cell to himself, shares it with one other man or with two or more other men. They were also asked whether there are proper flush lavatories in most prison cells and if not, how they thought the men manage.

i) Cells. In January 1966, just over 5,500 persons were sleeping more than one in a cell, of whom 364 were sleeping two to a cell.\*

Only 11% of the sample knew that a prisoner usually has a cell to himself. Three quarters of the sample thought that sharing a cell is the normal practice, and it is important to note that as many as 26% held the view that two men share a cell - a practice which was at the time of the enquiry somewhat of an experimental nature, and has almost always been avoided in the past. The majority of the sample, however, thought that cells are occupied by at least three men.

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\* These figures were taken from the Report on the work of the Prison Department 1965.

Table 41

Number of prisoners usually occupying a cell analysed  
by socio-economic status and by level of education

- Q.37 Does a man in prison usually have a cell to himself, share a cell with one other man, or share a cell with two or more other men?

	Total	S.E.G.					Education	
		1	2	3	4	5	Higher	Lower
Base of %: all informants	1904	97	158	434	401	328	409	1489
<u>% of informants thinking a prisoner</u>	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
** - usually has a cell to himself	11	7	4	12	9	16	8	12
- shares with one other man	26	27	25	29	26	23	31	25
- shares with two or more other men	50	57	54	48	53	47	54	48
Other answers	5	4	7	4	3	4	3	6
Don't know	8	5	10	7	9	10	4	9

\*\* Denotes correct answer at time of enquiry.

The Higher managerial and professional group were more likely than Unskilled manual workers to think that there is more than one man to a cell, and the Higher education group were more likely to think this than the Lower education group.

Table 42

Number of prisoners usually occupying a cell analysed  
by age and by sex

- Q.37 Does a man usually have a cell to himself, share a cell with one other man, or share a cell with two or more other men?

	Total	Age				Sex	
		21-30	31-40	41-50	51-69	Male	Female
Base of %: all informants	1904	317	417	454	712	933	971
<u>% of informants thinking a prisoner</u>	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
* - usually has a cell to himself	11	11	7	9	16	8	15
- shares with one other man	26	34	32	23	20	26	25
- shares with two or more other men	50	48	52	54	46	55	44
Other answers	5	3	5	8	6	5	6
Don't know	8	4	4	6	12	6	10

\* Denotes correct answer.

A higher proportion of men than women, and also of the younger age groups thought cells are shared. There was no difference by Type of area.

It is possible that the high proportion of informants giving an 'incorrect' answer, i.e. that a prisoner does not usually have a cell to himself - higher amongst the upper S.E.G. and the better educated - does not so much stem from ignorance as from an awareness of the overcrowding of our prisons. This suggestion is supported by the fact that this item is negatively correlated with most other 'knowledge' items in the Prisons section.

ii) Sanitary arrangements. Just under a third of the sample thought that cells are provided with proper flush lavatories but a slightly higher proportion (36%) spontaneously gave the correct answer, that men manage with a pail, pot or chamber in their cell. Quite a high proportion (21%) admitted that they did not know whether cells have lavatories or not.

Table 43

Sanitary arrangements in prison

Q.38 Are there proper flush lavatories in most prison cells?  
(If no) How do they manage?

	Total	S.E.G.					Education		Age			
		1	2	3	4	5	Higher	Lower	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-69
Base of percentage: all informants	1904	97	158	434	401	328	409	1489	317	417	454	712
<u>% of informants saying</u>	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Most cells have proper lavatories	31	16	25	31	37	33	26	33	33	29	32	31
Prisoners use pail/pot/chamber in cell	36	46	42	37	33	27	44	34	33	42	40	31
Other arrangements in cell	2	4	4	4	2	1	3	2	2	2	2	2
Other arrangements outside cell	7	16	9	6	7	8	10	7	10	8	5	7
No lavatory in cell, but don't know what arrangements are	3	6	3	3	4	3	4	2	5	2	4	2
Don't know whether lavatory in cell or not	21	12	17	19	17	28	13	22	17	17	17	27

A notably higher proportion of the Higher managerial and professional workers than any other group knew that most cells are not provided with lavatories and they were much more likely than the Unskilled to know that men have to manage with a pail or pot in their cell. They were, however, rather more likely than any other group to think other arrangements are made such as going to a lavatory outside the cell either with a warder or unaccompanied.

The Higher education group were more likely than the Lower education group to know that men have to use a pail or pot in their cell and don't have lavatories.

Those between 51 and 69 were least likely to know that cells don't have lavatories and those between 31 and 50 were most likely to name the correct alternative.

The proportion of informants who could give no answer to this question was highest amongst Unskilled manual workers, the less well-educated and the oldest age group.

Women were slightly less likely than men to be able to answer this question, but the ratio of correct to incorrect answers was the same for both sexes. Analysis by Type of area showed no appreciable difference.

b) A prisoner's day

i) Introduction. Informants were asked a number of questions about how a man spends his day in most ordinary prisons - what time he gets up, how many hours work he does a day, how long he spends locked in his cell and how long he spends out of his cell in leisure activities in association with other prisoners.

Since the practice varies greatly from prison to prison\*, it is not really possible to measure meaningfully the accuracy or inaccuracy of informants' answers, and these questions should be regarded as providing a general impression of how the sample as a whole thinks a man spends his day, and in what way any sub-groups differ from the majority view.

ii) Getting up time. Asked what time they thought men get up in most ordinary prisons, rather over half the sample mentioned a time between 6 am and 7 am. Quite a high proportion - almost a third - thought prisoners get up earlier than this, but only 7% thought later. 6% of the sample said they did not know.

Amongst informants who attempted to answer the question, at least 55% of all demographic sub-groups mentioned a time between 6 am and 7 am; and the only appreciable difference in the distribution of answers to this question was that a slightly higher proportion of the less well-educated than the better educated thought that prisoners get up earlier than this.

iii) Working hours. Asked how many hours work prisoners do a day, just over half the sample thought they work between seven and eight hours a day. Just under a third thought they worked shorter hours than this - between three and six hours - and only 7% thought more than eight hours. 10% of the sample said they did not know.

The proportion of informants who said they did not know was highest amongst the oldest age group and women. Amongst informants who did answer the question, at least 53% of all groups equated a prison working day to an ordinary working day of seven to eight hours; but a slightly higher proportion of men than women, and of informants in the oldest age group than other groups thought prisoners work shorter hours than this. Otherwise there was very little difference between groups.

iv) Hours locked in cells and hours spent out of cells with other prisoners  
Informants were asked how many hours they thought most prisoners spend locked in their cells out of the 24 hours each day; and also about how long they thought most prisoners spend out of their cells doing things with other prisoners that they want to do but aren't obliged to.

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\* Footnote Prison Division I of the Home Office informed us that prisoners in ordinary local prisons are generally unlocked at 6.30 am; that 20 hours a week was a fair estimate of hours worked; that the average time spent in the cell is ten hours a day. They warned us, however, that the practice - particularly in relation to locking and hours worked - varies very greatly from prison to prison.

The picture that emerged from the answers to these two questions was slightly less clear-cut than in the case of the two previous questions. This is perhaps because informants could not so easily relate their answers to any comparable situation in their own lives, as they could about the time a man gets up and the number of hours he works.

In both cases, the unskilled, the less well-educated, women and those aged between 51 and 69 were more likely than other groups to say they did not know. However amongst informants who answered the questions, there was very little difference between groups in the distribution of answers.

37% of the sample said they thought prisoners were locked in their cells for 8 to 10 hours out of the 24 (little more than a night's sleep in fact) but about a third thought 11 to 13 hours, and as many as 16% thought even longer than this. 11% of the sample did not know.

Most informants said they thought most prisoners are allowed to spend some time out of their cells in leisure activities with other prisoners. 46% of the sample thought only two hours or less are spent in this way, and a third thought 3 to 4 hours. Only 6% thought more than four hours is allowed, and 13% said they had no idea.

v) Pay for work in prison. Informants were asked whether prisoners get paid for the work they do and about how much they earn a week.

A prisoner's average weekly earnings for the year ended March 31st, 1965 was 5/1d\*; the range within which informants' estimates were accepted as reasonable was 10/- a week or less.

82% of the sample claimed to know that prisoners do get paid for their work (but almost a quarter of these informants were unable to say how much they earn a week). Just under a third of the sample spontaneously mentioned an amount within the acceptable range of 10/- a week or less. But although about the same proportion thought they earn more than this, only 7% of informants thought more than £2 a week; and it will be remembered that about half the sample thought that prisoners work an ordinary 7-8 hour day.

Although the proportion answering within the acceptable range did not differ very much when analysed by Socio-economic status and by Education, both the Higher and Lower managerial groups and the Higher education group were more likely than others to overestimate a prisoner's weekly pay. This is consistent with the tendency (shown in Table 39) of these groups to overestimate the weekly cost of keeping a man in prison.

Those between 51 and 69 were rather less likely to overestimate than were other age groups.

Only analysis by Sex shows any major difference in the proportion of informants giving an acceptable estimate - men were more likely than women to estimate a prisoner's earnings at 10/- a week or less.

Analysis by Type of area showed no difference.

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\* This figure was taken from the Report on the work of the Prison Department 1965.

Table 44

Pay for work in prison analysed by Socio-economic  
status and by level of education

Q.34 Do most prisoners get paid for the work they do?  
(If yes) About how much do they earn a week?

	Total	S.E.G.					Education	
		1	2	3	4	5	Higher	Lower
Base of percentage: all informants	1904	97	158	434	401	328	409	1489
<u>% of informants thinking a prisoner earns</u>	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
within acceptable range (10/- a week or less)	32	32	34	30	37	34	34	31
above acceptable range (over 10/- a week)	31	46	40	34	31	25	39	29
Don't know/varies	19	13	15	19	18	21	14	21
Prisoners do <u>not</u> get paid	10	9	8	10	6	10	10	10
Don't know whether they get paid or not	8	-	3	7	8	10	3	9

Table 45

Pay for work in prison analysed by age and by sex

Q.34 Do most prisoners get paid for the work they do?  
(If yes) About how much do they earn a week?

	Total	Age				Sex	
		21-30	31-40	41-50	51-69	Male	Female
Base of percentage: all informants	1904	317	417	454	712	933	971
<u>% of informants thinking a prisoner earns:</u>	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
within acceptable range (10/- a week or less)	32	30	37	32	30	38	26
above acceptable range (over 10/- a week)	31	32	35	36	25	33	30
Don't know/varies	19	16	13	18	26	17	22
Prisoners do <u>not</u> get paid	10	15	10	8	8	7	11
Don't know whether they get paid or not	8	7	5	6	11	5	11

c) Attitude to work and pay in prisons

i) Introduction. Informants were presented verbally with three statements about the kind of work prisoners should be allowed to do and the pay they ought to receive.

The statements were:

- (A) "Some people think that most prisoners should not be allowed to do the same sort of jobs as men outside prison".
- (B) "Others think they should be able to do jobs like other men do, but that they should get paid much less money for their work than people who aren't in prison".
- (C) "And some think that they should have proper jobs with normal rates of pay".

Informants were then asked which of these three statements came nearest to their own opinions.

ii) Attitudes to prisoners work and pay - what should be the practice and why. This question revealed an interesting difference in peoples' attitude to the work prisoners should be allowed to do, and their attitude to the appropriate pay for that work. The vast majority felt that prisoners should be allowed to do proper work, but twice as many informants thought they should receive much less pay for it than non-prisoners, as thought they should get the normal rate for the job.

Details of the answers to this question are shown in the following table.

Table 46

Attitudes to work and pay in prisons

Q.35 Which of these (statements) comes nearest to your own opinion?

Base of percentage: all informants	1904
% of informants endorsing:	%
(A) Prisoners should not be allowed to do same sort of jobs as men outside prison	6
(B) Prisoners should be allowed to do proper jobs but at much less pay than people not in prison	60
(C) Prisoners should be allowed to do proper jobs with normal rates of pay.	30
Should be made to work without <u>any</u> pay (spontaneous mention)	2
Other answers	1
Don't know	1

Somewhat surprisingly there were no important differences in the distribution of answers to this question between any of the sub-groups in the sample.

Those informants who endorsed statements A or B (A. that prisoners should not do the same jobs as people outside, or B. that they should do proper jobs with much less pay) were asked their main reasons for thinking this.

Although the most frequently occurring reason given spontaneously by both these groups was "they have committed a crime and should be punished", those who endorsed statement A displayed a markedly greater degree of overt punitiveness than those who endorsed statement B, whose attitudes were more tempered by reasons such as "they should pay for the cost of keeping them in prison" or "it is good for prisoners to do some useful/constructive work - work provides self respect".

Table 47

Reasons for endorsing statements A or B about work and pay

Q.35a What is your main reason for thinking this?

	(A) Not same jobs as men outside prison	(B) Proper jobs with much less pay
Base of %: informants endorsing statements A or B	107	1139
<u>% of informants giving as reasons</u>	%	%
- they have committed crime and should be punished	74	55
- should pay for the cost of keep	3	16
- good for them to do useful work	-	9
- it would be incentive to go to prison	8	8
- don't need money in prison	-	3
- money should go in compensation/be paid back to community	-	4
- money should be saved/given to their families	1	2
- other answers	11	2
- don't know	3	1

Informants who linked punishment with much less pay (but for proper jobs) differed very little in their demographic characteristics from the sample as a whole. But those who thought that offenders should be punished for the crimes they have committed by not even being allowed to do proper jobs, were almost twice as likely to be women<sup>(1)</sup> as men, and rather more likely to be found amongst the less well-educated and the oldest age group than elsewhere. Socio-economic status did not affect the distribution of these opinions materially.

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Footnote (1) Comparison with a question in another section of the schedule, however, shows that women were not so consistently punitive as less well-educated and older informants.

In Section K (Purpose of Sentencing), informants were asked if they thought that one of the things "they should be trying to do when sentencing criminals is to make them suffer for what they have done". 80% of the sample considered that it was, and 51% said it was very important. Informants of lower socio-economic status, less well-educated and older informants were more likely than others to agree with this statement and to consider that it was very important. Women, however, did not differ from men in the distribution of their views in any way on this question.

Of course to say that criminals have "committed a crime and should be punished" is not necessarily the same thing as to say that they "should be made to suffer for what they have done", but it is probably only a question of degree; for the first answer was given spontaneously by informants and the second was an endorsement of a statement presented to them - and one way to give people the opportunity to express feelings they might hesitate to put into words, is to allow them to agree or disagree with a statement made by someone else.

Table 48

Demographic characteristics of informants who said "they have committed a crime and should be punished".

		All informants	Informants who thought that prisoners	
			Should not have same jobs as men outside because they have committed a crime and should be punished	Should have proper jobs with much less pay because they have committed crime and should be punished
Base of %: as indicated		1904	82	629
		%	%	%
<u>Sex</u>	Male	49	34	48
	Female	51	66	52
<u>Age</u>	21-30	17	12	16
	31-40	22	19	20
	41-50	24	24	23
	51-69	37	45	41
<u>S.E.G.</u>	1	5	-	3
	2	8	9	7
	3	23	18	26
	4	21	20	21
	5	17	21	20
<u>Type of Education</u>				
	Higher	21	10	18
	Lower	78	90	82

The 30% of the sample who agreed with Statement C ("Prisoners should be allowed to do proper jobs at normal rates of pay") were then asked, "supposing prisoners earned the same wages as anyone else doing the same job", whether they should be allowed to keep all the money they earn to save or use as they like.

The great majority of this group (85%) thought not, and there was general agreement amongst all types of informants about this. However, although some of the sub-groups formed by the S.E.G. analysis are too small to be shown in detail, it is noticeable that a rather higher proportion (26%) of the Unskilled manual workers than any other group, thought that prisoners should retain the right to choose what they do with the money they earn.

iii) Allocation of prisoners' earnings. Informants who thought that prisoners should not be allowed to keep the money they earn at normal rates of pay, were presented with a number of possible ways in which they might be made to dispose of it. Details are shown below.

Table 49

Attitudes to allocation of prisoners' earnings amongst informants who thought they should be allowed to do proper jobs with normal rates of pay but not be allowed to keep all they earn

Base of percentage: informants who thought prisoners should not be allowed to keep all they earn	490
<u>% of informants endorsing</u>	%
Prisoners should be made to:	
- give some to their wife and family	96
- give some of it towards cost of their keep	94
- save some of it for when they come out	83
- give some to anyone else	56
i.e. victim (spontaneous mention) 53	
i.e. charity (spontaneous mention) 1	
i.e. others (spontaneous mention) 1	
No answer	

Note Percentages add to more than 100% since informants were asked to reply to each statement either positively or negatively.

As can be seen from this table practically all informants who thought prisoners should not be allowed to keep all they earn, agreed that they ought to be made to give some to their wives and families and contribute towards the cost of their keep, and a slightly reduced majority thought they should be obliged to save for when they come out of prison.

All types of informants generally agreed about this - at least 85% of each demographic group thought wives and families should be supported and contributions made to the cost of keep in prison, and at least three quarters of each group thought some saving for the future was necessary.

The final prompted statement "(Prisoners should be made to) give some to anyone else" was deliberately kept open in order not to put the idea of compensation for victims out of prisoners' earnings into informants' minds, and the fact that in the interview it followed immediately the specific prompt "give some to their wife and family" probably militated further against the expression of this idea. It is noteworthy therefore that over half of the informants who were asked this question,

agreed that prisoners should give some of their money to someone else, and 9 out of 10 of them (and there were no differences between demographic groups) spontaneously mentioned "the victim" as the "someone else" they had in mind.<sup>(i)</sup>

It should perhaps be emphasised that, when considering all these enforced contributions from prisoners' earnings, informants were supposing that prisoners earned the same wages as anyone else doing the same job.

d) Exercise

Asked what exercise most prisoners are obliged to take (not things they can do voluntarily in their spare time), nearly three quarters of the sample spontaneously gave the correct answer<sup>(ii)</sup> that compulsory exercise mostly takes the form of walking round the prison yard, or organised walking in the prison precincts. A minority (16%) thought some type of army P.T. is obligatory, and about the same proportion did not know.

Although the unskilled, the less well-educated and women were rather less knowledgeable than others on this subject, the majority of all groups did appear to know that most prisoners have to take their exercise by walking round the prison yard. The distribution of answers to this question did not vary by age or by the type of area in which the informant lived.

e) Conversation with other prisoners

Informants were told that "after most prisoners have served part of their sentence they eat together", and were then asked whether they thought most prisoners are allowed to talk to each other at meal-times, during working hours, on exercise, or, if they share a cell, to the men they share a cell with.<sup>(iii)</sup>

Practically everybody knew that men are allowed to talk to their cell-mates (if any), but this is probably less likely to be "knowledge" than a common sense realisation that such conversation would be almost impossible to prevent.

6% thought talking is allowed during meal times, but only just over half the sample knew that prisoners may talk while they're working or on exercise.

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(i) In section K of the schedule (Purpose of Sentencing) the question of payment for damage to property and for suffering or loss of earnings caused by injury, was dealt with by direct questioning, and 94% of all informants considered that both should be important parts of the purpose of sentencing. However no mention was made in this question of how criminals should be made to pay this compensation.

(ii) This information was received from Prison Division I of the Home Office.

(iii) From information received from Prison Division I of the Home Office, prisoners are allowed to talk to each other on all these occasions.

The only demographic variable that had any consistent association with informants' answers to this question was sex. Women were less likely than men to think prisoners are allowed to talk to each other on any of these occasions - except to the men they share a cell with, about which all sub-groups were virtually unanimous.

f) Smoking

Informants were asked whether prisoners are allowed to smoke and if so, whether they are allowed only a limited ration of cigarettes or tobacco or whether they can smoke as much as they can afford.

According to the Prison Rules 1964, no prisoner is allowed to smoke or have any tobacco except under the system of privileges whereby in accordance with the orders of a governor, the money earned by a prisoner in prison may be spent by him in prison. However for some time now this privilege has been accorded to all prisoners but could be withdrawn as a punishment.

Nearly three quarters of the sample thought that prisoners are allowed only a limited ration of cigarettes or tobacco, while a minority (17%) thought they can smoke as much as they can afford. Only 3% of the sample thought they are not allowed to smoke at all.

This mistaken impression of the regulations governing smoking was shared by the majority of all sub-groups and no one group tended to be better informed than another.

Informants were then asked whether they thought prisoners should be limited to a ration or allowed to smoke as much as they can afford. A rather higher proportion (51%) thought they should be allowed to smoke as much as they can afford, than thought they could do so under existing regulations; but the majority (68%) still thought prisoners ought to be rationed.

The youngest age group tended to be somewhat more permissive about "smokes" than the oldest age group, while women were marginally less so than men. Informants' Socio-economic status and Level of education was not associated with their opinions on this subject.

It is doubtful whether informants' non-permissive attitudes to smoking in prison can be taken as a pure measure of punitiveness, although it may contain some element of it. Too many unknown variables enter into the picture, such as whether the informants concerned are non-smokers or smokers, what their attitudes are to the smoking habits of other people in general, not only prisoners, and whether they think that the money could perhaps be better spent in other ways. (As confirmation of this, the statement "Prisoners should be allowed only a limited ration of tobacco and cigarettes" has a correlation of only .16 with the statement "Prisons should be more strict than now for some or all offenders",\* and has no other correlations greater than .15 with any other "punitive" item).

It is also possible that both their mistaken impression of the existing regulations and their apparently illiberal attitude to what the regulations ought to be, stemmed from a misunderstanding of the question. The question was in fact rather ambiguous in that it did not specify "as much as they can afford out of the money earned by them in prison".

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\* Note This question is dealt with in sub-section C.4 - "Overall attitude to the severity of prisons."

Analysis of how much the sample thought prisoners should be allowed to smoke by their impressions of the rules that do apply to smoking shows that the majority of informants who volunteered an impression (regardless of whether that impression was right or wrong) thought that what they imagined to be the status quo should be maintained.

Table 50

Smoking in prison - how much prisoners SHOULD be allowed to smoke, analysed by how much they are thought to be allowed to smoke at present

- Q.46 Are prisoners allowed to smoke at all? (If Yes) Are they allowed to smoke as much as they can afford or are they only allowed a limited ration of tobacco or cigarettes?
- Q.47 Do you think they should be limited to a ration or ought they to be allowed to smoke as much as they can afford?

	Total	Informants who thought prisoners ARE -		
		Allowed to smoke as much as they can afford	Limited to a ration/ Not allowed to smoke	Don't know
Base of %: all informants	1904	329	1411	164
<u>% of informants who thought that prisoners SHOULD</u>	%	%	%	%
- be allowed to smoke as much as they can afford	30	(64)	22	21
- be limited to a ration	68	34	(77)	64
Don't know	2	2	1	15

This detailed cross-analysis is summarised in the following table.

Table 51

Comparison of informants' impressions and  
opinions about regulations governing smoking

Base of %: informants who volunteered an impression of existing regulations	1740
<u>% of informants who thought that regulations SHOULD be:</u>	<u>%</u>
- more lenient than they thought they ARE	18
- the same as they thought they ARE	75
- less lenient than they thought they ARE	6
- other answers/don't know	1

The high proportion of informants who thought that their imagined status quo should be maintained, and the very small proportion who thought the regulations ought to be tougher than they thought they were, remained constant through all the demographic sub-groups. However the permissive group who thought the regulations ought to be more lenient than they thought they were, contained a much higher proportion of those informants aged between 21 and 40 than of older age-groups.

g) Communication with the outside world - visitors and letters

i) Introduction. Informants were asked whether most men are allowed to have visitors, receive and write letters and if so, how often. They were also asked how often they thought prisoners ought to be allowed these rights.

ii) Visitors. According to the Prison Rules 1964, prisoners aged 21 years and over are allowed visitors once in eight weeks, but the governor and visiting committee or board of visitors may allow additional visits in exceptional circumstances, or where necessary for the welfare of a prisoner or his family and Standing Orders strongly recommend that visits should be allowed, where possible, once every four weeks.

Since only 1% of informants thought visitors are allowed less often than once in four weeks, it was decided that any answer which came within the range of once a month or less often would be accepted as an accurate impression of the regulations governing visitors.

The existing regulations are thought insufficiently liberal by the sample as a whole, since a majority of those who answered the question, thought visitors are allowed more often than once a month and nearly three-quarters of the sample said they ought to be allowed more often than this. The regulation frequency most commonly mentioned among all types of informants, as the one they thought ought to apply to visitors was 'once a week'.

Table 52 shows informants' knowledge of regulations about visitors, analysed by Level of Education, Age and Sex.

Table 52

Visitors - Knowledge about visiting regulations

Q.42 Are most men in prison allowed to have visitors?

a If yes. How often are most of them allowed visitors?

	Total	Education		Age				Sex	
		Higher	Lower	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-69	Male	Female
Base of %: all informants	1904	409	1489	317	417	454	712	933	971
<u>% of informants thinking visitors are allowed:</u>	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
- twice a week or more often	9	8	9	14	10	7	6	9	8
- once a week	34	38	33	45	38	34	28	39	30
- less than once a week but more than once a month	4 (47)	6 (52)	4 (46)	4 (63)	4 (52)	6 (47)	4 (38)	5 (53)	4 (42)
- once a month or less often	39	38	39	28	39	40	43	36	42
- not at all	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1
Other answers	1	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	1
Don't know how often allowed/whether allowed or not*	12	8	14	7	8	11	17	10	14

\* 10% of informants did not know how often they are allowed.

2% of informants did not know whether they are allowed or not.

The most marked difference between informants' knowledge of visiting regulations is shown in the analysis by Age. Those aged between 21 and 40 were much more likely to think that prisoners can have visitors more frequently than in fact they can, whilst a small majority of those aged between 51 and 69, who answered the question, gave the acceptable frequency. However a rather higher proportion of these older informants did not attempt to answer the question.

Men were more likely than women, and the better educated slightly more likely than the less well-educated, to think that visitors are allowed more often than once a month.

There were no appreciable differences by Socio-economic status or by Type of area.

Table 53

## Visitors - Opinion

Q.42b How often do you think most of them should be allowed visitors?

	Total	Education		Age			
		Higher	Lower	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-69
Base of %: All informants	1904	409	1489	317	417	454	712
<u>% of informants thinking visitors should be allowed:</u>	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
- twice a week or more often	21	19	21	33	21	19	16
- once a week	43	50	41	39	47	44	42
- less than once a week but more often than once a month	8 (72)	9 (78)	8 (70)	6 (78)	8 (76)	8 (71)	10 (68)
- once a month or less often*	21	17	22	18	18	23	22
- not at all	2	1	2	Ø	2	2	2
Other answers	4	4	4	4	4	4	5
Don't know how often should be allowed/whether should be allowed or not.	1	Ø	2	Ø	Ø	Ø	3

\* 1% of informants thought visitors should be allowed less often than once a month.

Although the great majority of all groups thought that prisoners ought to be allowed visitors more often than once a month, the youngest age groups tended to be even more liberal in this respect than the older ones, and the better educated than the less well-educated.

Neither the Socio-economic status, the Sex of the informants, nor the Type of area in which they lived, materially affected their opinions about visiting.

Only a small percentage of informants thought that visiting ought to be allowed less often than they thought it was; 38% of those who volunteered an impression thought it ought to be allowed more often than they thought it was; but for the majority (54% of those who volunteered an impression) their own impression of the existing regulations appeared to constitute an acceptable policy.

Details of this cross analysis are shown below.

Table 54

How often visitors should be allowed, analysed by how often they are thought to be allowed at present

	Informants who thought visitors ARE allowed				
	Twice a week or more often	Once a week	Two or three times a month	Once a month or less often	Not at all
Base of %: informants who volunteered an impression of existing regulations	163	653	85	742	22
<u>% of informants who thought visitors SHOULD be allowed:</u>	%	%	%	%	(No.)
- twice a week or more often	(84)	28	6	2	(3)
- once a week	7	(66)	43	34	(3)
- two/three times a month	1	1	(38)	13	(4)
- once a month or less often	1	2	8	(45)	(4)
- not at all	-	1	1	1	(6)
Other answers/don't know	7	2	4	5	(2)

Note: Because of the extremely small size of the group, the figures in the final column are numbers, not percentages.

iii) Letters. According to the Prison Rules 1964, prisoners are entitled to send and receive one letter a week, although additional letters may be allowed at the discretion of the governor and visiting committee or board of visitors.

Informants did not show quite such a marked degree of disagreement with the regulations governing prisoners' letters as they did with those governing visitors. The sample as a whole was less likely to overestimate a prisoner's permitted quota of letters than his permitted quota of visitors; and although a high proportion thought letters ought to be allowed more often than once a week, this was nowhere near as high as the proportion who thought visitors ought to be allowed more often than once a month.

Table 55 shows how often informants thought letters are allowed, and how often they thought they should be allowed.

Table 55

How often informants thought letters are allowed and  
how often they thought they should be allowed

Q.43 & 44 Are most men in prison allowed to receive/write letters?  
a (If yes) Can they receive/send as many as they like, or are  
they limited to a certain number in a month?

(If limited) How many can they receive/send in a month?

Q.43 & 44b How many letters do you think they should be allowed to  
receive/send in a month?

	Letters received		Letters written	
	Are allowed	Should be allowed	Are allowed	Should be allowed
Base of percentage: all informants	1904			
% of informants saying:	%	%	%	%
- as many as they like	24	36	10	29
- limited but more than 1 per week	9	18	12	19
- 1 per week	23	30	28	35
- 2-3 per month	8	5	9	6
- 0-1 per month	9	6	13	7
- other answers	0	3	0	0
- don't know*	27	2	28	4

\* 'Don't knows' in the 1st and 3rd columns include:

- informants who did not know whether letters are allowed or not
- informants who knew letters are allowed, but did not know whether they are limited or not
- informants who knew letters are limited but did not know the permitted frequency

As can be seen from the table, the sample in general tended to think that a prisoner is allowed to receive more letters than he is allowed to write, and also, thought to a lesser extent, that he ought to be allowed to receive more letters than they would allow him to write.

(This distinction made by most informants between incoming and outgoing letters is discussed further following Table 58)

It is to be noted that a very high proportion of the sample either did not know what the limited allocation of letters is, or whether letters are limited or nor, or even whether letters are allowed at all; and this proportion of "don't knows", though varying between different types of informants, barely fell below a quarter of any one group. It is in fact extremely doubtful whether it is justifiable to speak of "knowledge" at all (or even informed impressions) in the context of regulations governing either visitors or letters.

The sample showed more pronounced inter-group variation about letters than visiting, the most marked differences being seen in the analyses by Socio-economic status and Age.

Table 56 shows the results analysed by the Socio-economic status of the informant.

Table 56

How often informants thought letters are allowed and how often they thought they should be allowed - analysed by Socio-economic status

	Thought letters ARE allowed					Thought letters SHOULD BE allowed				
	S.E.C.					S.E.C.				
	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
Base of percentage: as indicated	97	158	434	401	328	97	158	434	401	328
<u>Letters received by prisoners</u>	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
% of informants saying:										
- as many as they like	38	30	23	29	19	49	39	38	37	28
- limited but more than 1 per week	8	10	10	10	7	15	18	19	17	18
- 1 per week*	19	17	26	21	24	28	25	29	32	30
- less than 1 per week/none	11	18	15	17	22	2	13	9	10	19
- other answers	-	-	Ø	Ø	Ø	4	1	2	2	3
- Don't know	24	25	26	23	28	2	4	3	2	2
<u>Letter sent by prisoners</u>										
% of informants saying:										
- as many as they like	22	15	9	10	10	45	34	30	27	23
- limited but more than 1 per week	16	8	14	14	9	20	17	18	22	19
- 1 per week*	25	22	31	30	28	24	27	36	38	34
- less than 1 per week/none	16	23	18	21	26	4	16	12	9	19
- other answers	-	-	Ø	-	-	1	1	Ø	1	Ø
- Don't know	21	32	28	25	27	6	5	4	3	5

\* denotes permitted frequency.

Higher managerial and professional informants were much more likely and the Unskilled much less likely than other groups to think that a prisoner's quota of letters is more generous and ought to be more generous than the regulations in fact allow; and the proportion of informants who thought prisoners should be allowed as many letters as they like, showed a consistent downward trend through the S.E.G. groups.

The following table shows the results analysed by informants' Level of Education

Table 57

How often informants thought letters are allowed and how often they thought they should be allowed - analysed by Level of Education

	Thought letters ARE allowed		Thought letters SHOULD BE allowed	
	Level of Education		Level of Education	
	Higher	Lower	Higher	Lower
Base of percentage: as indicated	409	1489	409	1489
<u>Letters received by prisoners</u>	%	%	%	%
<u>% of informants saying:</u>				
- as many as they like	31	22	45	33
- limited but more than 1 per week	10	9	21	17
- 1 per week*	20	24	23	32
- less than 1 per week/none	13	18	7	12
- other answers	Ø	Ø	2	2
- Don't know	26	27	2	4
<u>Letters sent by prisoners</u>				
<u>% of informants saying:</u>				
- as many as they like	13	10	37	26
- limited but more than 1 per week	16	11	22	18
- 1 per week*	24	30	30	36
- less than 1 per week/none	19	22	8	14
- other answers	-	Ø	Ø	1
- Don't know	28	27	3	5

\* denotes permitted frequency

Analysis by level of education shows the same pattern as by Socio-economic status though, partly because of the broader grouping, the differences are not so marked. The better educated informants had a more liberal impression of what the regulations are than the less well educated, and also a more liberal opinion of what the regulations ought to be.

The following table shows the results analysed by informant's Age.

Table 58

How often informants thought letters are allowed and how often they thought they should be allowed - analysed by Age

	Thought letters ARE allowed				Thought letters SHOULD BE allowed			
	Age				Age			
	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-69	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-69
Base of percentage: all informants	317	417	454	712	317	417	454	712
<u>Letters received by prisoners</u>	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
% of informants saying:								
- as many as they like	28	28	23	20	43	44	36	28
- limited but more than 1 per week	13	12	9	5	21	21	17	16
- 1 per week*	22	23	24	24	21	25	33	36
- less than 1 per week/none	13	13	18	19	13	7	10	13
- other answers	Ø	—	Ø	Ø	1	2	2	3
- Don't know	24	24	26	32	1	1	2	4
<u>Letters sent by prisoners</u>								
% of informants saying:								
- as many as they like	14	14	9	7	39	37	27	20
- limited but more than 1 per week	16	14	12	8	19	22	21	16
- 1 per week*	29	30	29	27	27	26	36	42
- less than 1 per week/none	18	18	23	23	12	9	12	16
- other answers	—	—	—	Ø	1	1	Ø	Ø
- Don't know	23	24	27	35	2	5	4	6

\* denotes permitted frequency

Older informants were less likely than younger informants to think that the quota of letters a prisoner may receive is more generous than in fact it is; and whilst about the same proportion of each group gave the correct frequency for the number of letters a prisoner may write, older informants were more likely than younger informants to think it is less generous than this.

Informants aged between 51-69 were more inclined than other people to differentiate between incoming and outgoing letters - they were the only age group in which the proportion of informants who thought a prisoner should be allowed to write only one letter a week was higher than the proportion who thought he should be allowed to write more than this.

Table 59 shows the results analysed by the Sex of the informant.

Table 59

How often informants thought letters are allowed and how often they thought they should be allowed - analysed by Sex

	Thought letters ARE allowed		Thought letters SHOULD BE allowed	
	SEX		SEX	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Base of percentage: all informants	933	971	933	971
<u>Letters received by prisoners</u>	%	%	%	%
<u>% of informants saying:</u>				
- as many as they like	29	18	41	30
- limited but more than 1 per week	10	8	18	19
- 1 per week*	20	27	25	35
- less than 1 per week/none	17	17	11	11
- other answers	Ø	Ø	3	2
- Don't know	24	30	2	3
<u>Letters sent by prisoners</u>				
<u>% of informants saying:</u>				
- as many as they like	13	8	34	23
- limited but more than 1 per week	15	9	21	18
- 1 per week*	26	30	29	41
- less than 1 per week/none	21	22	12	13
- other answers	--	Ø	1	Ø
- Don't know	25	31	3	5

\* denotes permitted frequency.

A higher proportion of men than women overestimated a prisoner's quota of letters. Women in fact were more likely to give the correct allowance of letters a prisoner may write, and even to underestimate it, than they were to overestimate it.

Men were more likely than women to think a prisoner ought to be allowed to receive more than one letter a week, and even more likely than women to think he should be allowed to write more than this.

As the next table shows, the majority of those who thought they knew the regulations agreed with what they (rightly or wrongly) believed to be the status quo. But quite a high proportion of informants thought the regulations should be more lenient than they thought they were.

Table 60

Comparison of informants' knowledge and opinions  
about regulations governing letters

	Letters received	Letters written
Base of %: informants who volunteered an impression of existing regulations	1388	1366
% of informants who thought prisoners SHOULD be allowed:	%	%
- more letters than they thought they ARE	32	42
- the same number of letters as they thought they ARE	58	52
- less letters than they thought they ARE	8	4
- other answers/don't know	2	2

Details of this cross-analysis are shown below.

Table 61

How many letters informants thought prisoners SHOULD be allowed, analysed by how many letters they thought ARE allowed at present

	Informants who thought prisoners ARE allowed				
	As many as they like	Limited number but more than 1 per week	1 per week	2 to 3 per month	0 to 1 per month
Base of %: informants who volunteered an impression of existing regulations	458	170	444	151	165
Letters received	%	%	%	%	%
% of informants who thought prisoners SHOULD be allowed					
- as many as they like	(80)	25	23	19	13
- limited number but more than 1 per week	9	(68)	19	7	3
- 1 per week	6	4	(55)	45	34
- 2 to 3 per month	1	2	1	(26)	12
- 0 to 1 per month	1	-	1	3	(35)
- other answers/don't know	3	1	1	-	3
Base of %: informants who volunteered an impression of existing regulations	197	225	540	162	242
Letters written	%	%	%	%	%
% of informants who thought prisoners SHOULD be allowed					
- as many as they like	(84)	32	23	18	10
- limited number but more than 1 per week	5	(61)	19	9	3
- 1 per week	8	3	(55)	39	37
- 2 to 3 per month	1	0	0	(30)	13
- 0 to 1 per month	1	0	1	2	(31)
- other answers/don't know	1	4	2	2	6

Although certain specific groups - the unskilled, the less well educated, the oldest age group and women - tended to be less liberal-minded than others about letters, it is doubtful whether this arises from punitiveness. Some indication of this is given by the fact that even amongst these groups, informants placed slightly more importance on receiving letters than writing them, and one might expect punitiveness to be evinced rather by a wish to limit the number of letters a man may receive, than the number he may write (which would tend to punish his family rather than him).

Furthermore, while "prisoners should be allowed to receive three letters a month or less" correlates highly (.6) with "prisoners should be allowed to write three letters a month or less" (probably due to the similar form of the question), both items have only an average correlation of .20 (for each of the two types of schedules) with "prisoners should be allowed to have visitors once a month or less often"; and neither item has a correlation greater than .17 with any other "punitive" item.

The wider differences found in the analyses by Socio-economic status and by Age suggest that letters are possibly not such an easy or natural means of communication for some people as for others.

iv) Censorship of prisoners' letters. Informants were asked whether the letters prisoners receive and write are read by the governor or prison staff, or censored in any way.

In fact of course, both incoming and outgoing mail is read by prison authorities, and "the governor may, at his discretion, stop any letter or communication on the ground that its contents are objectionable or that it is of inordinate length".\*

It might be expected that common-sense would lead nearly everyone to think that this is so, even if they did not know the facts. However, 11% said that they did not know whether incoming mail was censored and a further 10% said it was not. 9% did not know about outgoing mail, and a further 8% said it was not censored.\*

The 77% and 81% of the sample who gave the correct answer about the censorship of incoming and outgoing mail respectively, were asked what subjects or information are looked for. The reason most frequently mentioned by these informants for censoring prisoners' letters, was "to detect plans for escape" or "information on prison routine which could lead to escapes".

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\* Prison Rules 1964

Table 62

Reasons for censoring prisoners' letters

Q.45a What subjects or information do they look for when they read or censor letters received/sent out by prisoners?

	Letters received	Letters sent out
Base of percentage: all informants thinking letters are censored	1496	1582
<u>% of informants mentioning</u>	%	%
- plans for escape	72)	64)
- leakage of prison routine which could lead to escapes	(76) 10)	(74) 22)
- information about criminals outside prison	18	18
- plans for future crimes	10	10
- references to treatment of prisoners	3	11

Note This table only shows answers given by 10% or more of informants in answer to one or both questions.

The proportion of informants who knew of the existence of censorship did not vary very much between demographic groups. But although the majority of all groups mentioned the prevention of escapes as one of the objects of censorship, the size of this majority varied slightly. It tended to decrease with Socio-economic status, Level of education and Age. This point was mentioned by a larger majority of those living in Rural areas than other areas; and rather inexplicably, by a larger majority of women than men (but only in relation to letters received by prisoners).

The only other difference between groups concerned the proportion of informants who said "they are looking for information about criminals outside prison". A slightly higher proportion of men than women mentioned this; a slightly higher proportion of those living in Conurbations than other types of areas mentioned it as the object of censorship of letters written by prisoners, and a slightly lower proportion of those living in Rural areas mentioned it in relation to incoming letters.

#### C.4 Overall attitude to the severity of prisons

i) General. Informants were asked whether they thought that on the whole prisons should be more severe than they are now, or less severe, or whether they should stay the same. (This followed all the detailed questioning about conditions of life in prison).

Only 6% of the sample said that prisons should be less severe; a third said they should stay the same; but the highest proportion (46%) said they should be more severe than they are now.

Table 63

Overall attitude to the severity of prisons

Q.48 Do you think on the whole, that prisons should be more severe than they are now; or less severe; or should they stay the same?

Base of percentage: all informants	1904
<u>% of informants saying that prisons should be:</u>	%
- more severe than they are now	46
- the same as they are now	33
- less severe than they are now	6
- some more severe/some less (unprompted)	8
- other answers	2
Don't know	5

The demographic distribution of the three most important groups - informants who said prisons should be more severe than they are now, those who said they should stay the same and those who said they should be less severe - is shown in the following table.

Table 64

Demographic distribution of informants who said prisons should be more severe, those who said they should stay the same and those who said they should be less severe

		Informants who said prisons should		
		be more severe	stay the same	be less severe
Base of percentage: as indicated		868	629	109
		%	%	%
<u>S.E.G.</u>	1	4	6	11
	2	8	7	12
	3	22	24	27
	4	23	21	13
	5	19	18	10
<u>Level of Education</u>	Higher	17	22	44
	Lower	83	78	56
<u>Age</u>	21-30	17	18	19
	31-40	20	22	35
	41-50	24	24	19
	51-60	39	36	27

Note The S.E.G. groupings do not add to 100% because of the exclusion of Group 6 (housewives/students/members of the Armed Forces/ inadequately described occupations). See the General Introduction to the enquiry.

As this table shows, informants who thought prisons should be more severe, differed very little in their demographic characteristics from those who thought they should stay the same - except that the more punitive group contained a slightly higher proportion of less well-educated informants.

Informants who thought prisons should be less severe, differed considerably however, from both groups. A more liberal overall attitude was clearly to be found amongst the better-educated, those of higher socio-economic status, and younger people.

The sex of informants and the type of area in which they lived was not associated with their overall attitude to prisons.

ii) Attitudes to severity of prisons and impressions of existing regulations and conditions. From this distribution it might perhaps have been expected that a more liberal overall attitude would have been associated with a greater knowledge of actual prison conditions, since the more liberal group contained a higher proportion of informants - i.e. those with a higher level of education and of higher socio-economic status - who tended to be better-informed generally. Further analysis, however, does not show any consistent association between this more liberal attitude and knowledge, or between a more punitive attitude and ignorance.

Nevertheless there were some questions which discriminated the more liberal group markedly from the others. They were much more likely than other informants to know that prisoners have to use a pot or pail in their cell, and rather more likely to think that prisoners are locked up in their cells for fourteen hours or more a day, and that there are at least three men to a cell.

These differences suggest that possibly for these more liberal informants, the idea of long hours spent in overcrowded, insanitary cells represented the most unpleasant aspects of prison life about which they were specifically questioned, and touched their sensibilities most of all.

As might be expected, informants who had a more liberal attitude to prison life in general, were consistent in expressing more liberal opinions than other informants, on all the particular conditions about which they were asked.

Informants who said that prisons should be less severe were about twice as likely as those who said they should be more severe, to think that prisoners should be allowed to:

- a) do proper jobs with normal pay
- b) receive and write as many letters as they like
- c) to smoke as much as they can afford

and also rather more likely to think that they should receive visitors once a week or more often.

Informants who said that prisons should stay the same, tended to occupy a central position between the more liberal and the more punitive groups.

Table 65

Attitude to certain specific prison conditions amongst informants who said prisons should be more severe, those who said they should stay the same, and those who said they should be less severe

	Informants who said prisons should		
	be more severe	stay the same	be less severe
Base of percentage: as indicated	868	629	109
Prisoners should not be allowed to do same sort of jobs as men outside prison	% 8	% 5	% -
Prisoners should be allowed to do proper jobs but at much less pay than people not in prison	63	63	45
Prisoners should be allowed to do proper jobs with normal rates of pay	25	29	53
Other answers/don't know	4	3	2
-----	-----	-----	-----
Prisoners should be allowed to smoke as much as they can afford	23	33	44
Prisoners should be limited to a ration	76	65	55
Don't know	1	2	1
-----	-----	-----	-----
<u>Prisoners should be allowed visitors -</u>			
twice a week or more often	15) <sup>57</sup> 42)	24) <sup>67</sup> 43)	26) <sup>80</sup> 54)
once a week			
less than once a week but more than once a month	10	7	6
once a month or less often	24	21	12
not at all	3	1	-
Other answers/don't know	6	4	2
-----	-----	-----	-----
<u>Prisoners should be allowed to receive -</u>			
as many letters as they like	31) <sup>48</sup> 17)	34) <sup>56</sup> 22)	63) <sup>81</sup> 18)
more than 1 letter per week			
1 letter per week	34	30	14
less than 1 letter per week/none	13	11	5
Other answers/don't know	5	3	0
-----	-----	-----	-----
<u>Prisoners should be allowed to send -</u>			
as many letters as they like	24) <sup>41</sup> 17)	28) <sup>50</sup> 22)	52) <sup>71</sup> 19)
more than 1 letter per week			
1 letter per week	40	34	22
less than 1 letter per week/none	15	12	6
Other answers/don't know	4	4	1

Unfortunately it is not at all clear from the data available, quite what the 46% of the sample meant when they said that prisons should be more severe than they are now. In fact, as previously discussed, on those specific questions where a comparison of peoples' impressions of what the existing regulations are with their opinions of what they ought to be was possible, (i.e. smoking, visitors and letters) a very different distribution of answers emerged.

Table 66

Comparison of informants' overall attitude to prisons  
with their attitude to specific regulations

	Attitude to				
	Prisons in general	Smoking	Visitors	Letters received	Letters written
Base of percentage: all informants*	1904	1740	1665	1388	1366
<u>% of informants saying that conditions should be:</u>	%	%	%	%	%
- more severe than they are now/ than they think they are	46	6	4	8	4
- the same as they are now/as they think they are	33	75	54	58	52
- less severe than they are now/ than they think they are	6	18	38	32	42
- other answers/don't know	15	1	4	2	2

\* Note The bases of percentages in the last four columns is the number of informants volunteering an impression of existing regulations.

There are several possible explanations for the wide difference to be found between the high proportion of informants who thought that in general prisons should be more severe than they are now, and the very small proportion who thought that specific regulations should be tougher than they think they are.

It may be that a lot of people have a feeling that criminals have too easy a time in prison,\* but do not know precisely in what way they should be treated more severely. Or it may be that fairly frequent visits and letters from families are regarded as fulfilling an essential and humane need, the denial of which would only be used as a retributive measure by a highly punitive minority.

#### C.5 Aid to Prisoners' Families

Informants were asked whether or not a prisoner's family can get help from National Assistance (as it then was) while he is in prison, and also whether they can get any other official help. (Official help was defined as money, or anything paid for by the government, or out of taxes or the rates).

81% of the sample knew that families can get help in the form of National Assistance, but only 28% thought they could get other official help (the source most frequently mentioned was the Prisoners' Aid Society), and about the same proportion thought not.

17% of the sample did not know National Assistance gives help to prisoners' families, a very high proportion (44%) did not know whether or not other official help is available; and nearly a third of those who claimed they knew it is, did not know what form it takes.

The proportion of "don't knows" was higher amongst women than men, and amongst the less well-educated than the better educated.

Although 81% of the sample knew about the availability of National Assistance, it would seem that many informants did not know the true extent to which prisoners' families can receive financial support. In view of this it is hardly surprising that when asked whether prisoners' families get too much, about the right amount or too little official help, almost a third of the sample could not (or would not) express an opinion. 43% thought about the right amount and 21% thought too little.

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\* In Section M of the Schedule (Means of reducing the number of habitual prisoners), informants were asked whether they thought that any of today's habitual prisoners would give up breaking the law if prison life was made tougher. 23% of the sample said they thought this would make nearly all of them stop breaking the law. And people were more likely to think that this treatment rather than any of the others suggested to them, would be successful with nearly all habitual offenders. (The other methods suggested included longer prison sentences, training for a job and preparation for life outside prison).

In Sections H and L of the Schedule, which dealt with the nature of the habitual offender, informants were presented with twenty-two statements describing a number of factors which might characterise them. Of all the statements presented, "They find prison life so tough it changes them for the worse" was the least likely to be thought relevant to the habitual offender. 54% of the sample said that it was not true of any of them.

Table 67

Attitude to the amount of official help  
received by prisoners' families

Q.55 Do you think prisoners' families get too much, about the right amount, or too little official help?

	Total	A g e				*Informants who said prisons should -		
		21-30	31-40	41-50	51-69	be more severe	stay the same	be less severe
Base of %: as indicated	1904	317	417	454	712	868	629	109
<u>% of informants saying that prisoners' families</u>	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
- get too much official help	4	4	4	5	4	6	2	5
- get the right amount of official help	43	36	41	45	46	47	47	22
- get too little official help	21	35	28	20	12	17	22	54
Other answers	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	3
Don't know	31	24	24	29	37	29	28	16

(\*) The bases of percentages in the last three columns do not add to the total sample, because of the exclusion of informants who gave other answers or did not know about the severity of prisons.

Informants in the youngest age group differed considerably from all other informants in that they were as likely to think that prisoners' families are inadequately supported as to think that they get the right amount of help. In fact the older the informant, the less likely he or she was to think official help is inadequate. Informants in the oldest age group were also much more unwilling than others to express an opinion.

Analysis of this question by the other demographic variables showed little differences between groups. However, as can be seen from the table, informants who thought prisons should be less severe were much more likely than others to feel that prisoners' families need more help than they get.

The 21% of the sample who said prisoners' families get too little official help were asked what kind of extra help they thought was needed.

Table 68

Extra help needed by prisoners' families

Q.55a What kind of help should they get more of?

Base of percentage: finormants who said prisoners' families get too little official help	406
<u>% of informants mentioning spontaneously:</u>	%
- money	63
- guidance from welfare and social workers	25
- clothing	16
- food/school meals	11

Note This table only shows answers made by given by more than 10% of the relevant group of informants. The figures add to more than 100% as some informants gave more than one answer.

The size of this sub-sample (406 informants) is too small to permit further detailed analysis, and the only point of significance that emerges, is that better-educated informants were more than twice as likely as the less well-educated to mention guidance, and rather less likely to mention clothing or food.

C.6 Early release under supervision

Informants were told that "howadays most prisoners if they behave themselves, only serve two-thirds of the sentence they're given in Court"; they were then asked whether they thought all prisoners who have been given sentences of three or more years and who are not dangerous should have to serve at least two-thirds of their sentence or whether some could be let out earlier under supervision.

The sample was almost equally divided in their opinions on this question - 51% thought that all prisoners should serve at least two-thirds of their sentence, and 47% thought that some could be let out earlier under supervision.

Somewhat surprisingly this equal division remained constant throughout all the demographic sub-groups.\*

However those informants who thought that prisons should on the whole be less severe, were again consistently more liberal than other informants - nearly three-quarters of this group thought that some prisoners could be allowed to serve less than two-thirds of their sentence, as opposed to only 37% of those who thought that prisons should be more severe.

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\* Since the fieldwork for this study took place, the amount of publicity and comment given to the provisions of the Criminal Justice Act 1967 with regard to release on licence of suitable prisoners selected by the Parole Board, may have modified some people's views on the subject.

## C.7 Ex-prisoners

i) Introduction. A number of questions were asked about ex-prisoners - the kind of help informants thought an ex-prisoner needs when he comes out of prison, and the amount of contact they had actually had with any. Informants' attitudes of acceptance and rejection of non-violent ex-prisoners and their families in various hypothetical situations, are dealt with in an Appendix to the present chapter.

ii) Help a man needs when he comes out of prison. Informants were asked whether they thought that when a man comes out of prison, he should be given any sort of help - apart from any he may get from friends or relatives. If they thought he should, they were asked what sort of help he should get (including any he does get already). Interviewers were instructed to probe this question fully, by asking "Any other sorts of help?"

90% of the sample thought a man should be given help of some kind when he comes out of prison. Help in finding a job was mentioned by the vast majority (81% of the whole sample). A third mentioned money or financial help, 28% said help in finding a place to live and nearly a quarter suggested some sort of moral support, or follow-up by a Probation Officer, to help him regain self-respect and re-establish himself in the community.

However, a small minority (8%) said prisoners should be given no help at all when they come out. This must be regarded as showing an extremely punitive or very remote attitude i.e. an extension of retribution beyond the period when a man might be thought to have paid for whatever he has done, or a complete dissociation from ex-prisoners as a stereotyped out-group.

This minority did not vary with Socio-economic status, level of education, age or sex.

The great majority of all types of informants (at least 80% of all demographic groups) thought a man leaving prison should be helped, but there were some differences of opinion as to the form it should take.

Amongst informants who thought a man should be helped when he leaves prison, over 85% of all groups spontaneously mentioned his need for help in finding a job.

The better-educated were more likely to mention help in finding a place to live, and also the need for moral support, than were the less well-educated.

It was only in respect of this less material form of help that analysis by socio-economic status showed any appreciable difference in the distribution of answers; and as might be expected from the analysis by education, the higher managerial and professional group were much more likely than Manual workers to say that a man coming out of prison needs help of this sort. However, somewhat unexpectedly, the proportion of the lower managerial group mentioning moral support was only at the same level as amongst manual workers. This kind of distribution is not in accord with the trend found in other analyses by socio-economic status.

Younger informants, between 21 and 30, were less likely than the other age groups to say that a man leaving prison needs financial help; and informants in the oldest age group were less likely than others to say he needs help in finding a place to live.

A higher proportion of men than women mentioned money, but women were marginally more likely than men to say that an ex-prisoner needs support and guidance.

Table 69

Help thought to be needed by a man leaving prison,  
analysed by socio-economic status and by level of education

Q.50a (When a man comes out of prison) What sort of help should he get, including any he does get already? PROBE Any other sort of help?

	Total	S.E.G.					Education	
		1	2	3	4	5	Higher	Lower
Base of %: informants who said a man should be given help on leaving prison	1725	94	151	395	366	288	390	1330
<u>% of informants mentioning spontaneously:</u>	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
- help in finding a job	89	94	88	89	88	87	89	88
- money/financial help	37	42	37	37	40	39	38	36
- help in finding a place to live	31	33	36	30	28	28	38	28
- moral support/follow up/help in regaining self-respect	25	35	22	29	19	20	35	22
- other answers	14	13	18	15	14	13	15	14

Table 70

Help thought to be needed by a man leaving prison analysed  
analysed by age and by sex

Q.50a (When a man comes out of prison) What sort of help should he get, including any he does get already? PROBE Any other sort of help?

	Total	Age				Sex	
		21-30	31-40	41-50	51-69	Male	Female
Base of %: informants who said a man should be given help on leaving prison	1725	291	385	414	631	862	863
<u>% of informants mentioning spontaneously:</u>	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
- help in finding a job	89	92	90	88	86	88	90
- money/financial help	37	29	34	38	41	42	32
- help in finding a place to live	31	38	36	32	23	32	30
- moral support/follow up/help in regaining self-respect	25	24	24	26	26	23	28
- other answers	14	12	17	12	13	16	11

iii) Actual contacts with ex-prisoners. Informants were presented with a list of statements describing various social situations in which they might come in contact with ex-prisoners or their families, or the families of prisoners, and were asked if they would accept contacts of the kinds described. (The second part of the question is dealt with in the Appendix). They were then asked whether they had done any of these things or whether any of these things had actually happened to them.

The statements were: "Supposing he was not a dangerous or violent criminal, would you ....."

- A. Give money to an ex-prisoner or to a prisoner's or ex-prisoner's family.
- B. (Ask men) Have a drink or go out with an ex-prisoner  
(Ask women) Go out with a small group of men and women, if one of the men was an ex-prisoner.
- C. Let your children play with a prisoner's or ex-prisoner's children.
- D. Invite an ex-prisoner home.
- E. Become friends with an ex-prisoner at work.
- F. Consider recommending an ex-prisoner you knew for a job.
- G. Consider accepting an ex-prisoner as a partner in business.
- H. Mind having your children attend the same school as an ex-prisoner.
- I. Mind living next door to an ex-prisoner.
- J. Mind working with an ex-prisoner on a tricky or dangerous job.
- K. Try to stop your daughter marrying an ex-prisoner.

Just over a quarter of the sample claimed that they had had some contact with ex-prisoners of one or more of the kinds described. It is possible that some of the remainder of the sample might have met any one of these situations and responded in a negative way, but it is more likely that only this fairly small proportion had knowingly encountered any of these situations, and that the great majority of the sample had had little contact of any kind with ex-prisoners.

16% of the sample had been out socially with an ex-prisoner, 11% had become friends with one at work and 8% had invited one into their home. It is worth noting that although only 26% of informants had had any kind of contact with ex-prisoners, the majority of these (22% of the sample) had associated with them in one or more of the three friendly situations described above.

5% of the sample said they had recommended an ex-prisoner they knew for a job; and 5% said they had given money to an ex-prisoner. Each of the other situations had involved less than 5% of the sample.

Table 71

Actual contacts with ex-prisoners - analysed by socio-economic status, by age, and by sex

	Total	S.E.G.					Age				Sex	
		1 (1+2)	2	3	4	5	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-69	Male	Female
Base of percentage: all informants	1904	97 (255)	158	434	401	328	317	417	454	712	933	971
% of informants who said they had:	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
(B) Gone out with an ex-prisoner socially	16	22 (25)	27	15	24	15	24	17	15	12	27	5
(E) Become friends with an ex-prisoner at work	11	11 (13)	13	8	21	12	14	12	10	9	18	3
(D) Invited an ex-prisoner home	8	8 (12)	15	9	9	9	11	11	6	6	11	5
Had one or more of the above contacts (B, E, or D)	22	28 (33)	35	19	32	23	28	25	20	18	35	9
(F) Recommended an ex-prisoner they knew for a job	5	16 (12)	10	5	5	3	5	5	4	5	8	1
(A) Given money to an ex-prisoner	5	8 (7)	6	4	5	7	4	6	4	4	7	2
Had <u>any</u> contact with an ex-prisoner*	26	36 (39)	40	23	36	27	31	29	27	23	39	14
Had no contact with an ex-prisoner	74	64 (61)	60	77	64	73	69	71	73	77	61	86

\* i.e. of the kinds described in all statements (A - K)

Note: a) This table only shows details of contacts involving 5% or more of the sample.

b) Percentages in brackets are the sum of S.E.G. 1 and 2.

White collar workers and unskilled manual workers had had less contact of any kind than other groups, with ex-prisoners: they were in particular less likely than others to have gone out with one socially. Skilled manual workers were more likely than others to have made friends with one at work. (It is possible that these informants were either foremen, or employed in some supervisory capacity and were thus more likely to know that they were working with an ex-prisoner.) The managerial and professional were more likely than others to have recommended an ex-prisoner for a job.

The older the informant the less likely he was to have had contact with an ex-prisoner, particularly of a social nature, and informants in the youngest age group were twice as likely as those in the oldest age group to have gone out with one socially. It is possible, in the case of informants in the oldest age group, that any such contacts particularly of a casual nature may, as with other experiences, have been forgotten if they took place in an earlier part of their life.

Women, as might be expected, had had far less contact than men with ex-prisoners, (of whom, of course, the vast majority are male), probably mainly due to their lesser degree of social mobility, but possibly also to a greater reluctance on their part to become involved in such contacts.

The level of education informants had received and the type of area in which they lived, made little difference to the amount of contact they had had with ex-prisoners.

Table 72 relates the level of informants' contact with ex-prisoners to their attitude to the severity of prisons.

Table 72

Actual contacts with ex-prisoners - analysed by overall attitude to the severity of prisons

	Informants who said prisons should:		
	be more severe	stay the same	be less severe
Base of percentage: as indicated	868	629	109
% of informants who said they had:	%	%	%
(B) Gone out with an ex-prisoner socially	15	17	29
(E) Become friends with an ex-prisoner at work.	11	11	11
(D) Invited an ex-prisoner home	6	9	17
Had one or more of the above contacts (B, E, or D)	21	22	32
(F) Recommended an ex-prisoner they knew for a job	4	4	12
(A) Given money to an ex-prisoner	4	4	11
Had <u>any</u> contact with an ex-prisoner*	26	25	39
Had no contact with an ex-prisoner	74	75	61

\* i.e. of the kinds described in all statements (A-K)

Note: This table only shows details of contacts involving 5% or more of the sample.

As this table shows, the minority of informants who thought prisons should be less severe, were more likely than those who thought they should be more severe or stay the same, to have had actual contact with ex-prisoners: and this greater degree of contact was even extended into the home itself.

#### C.8 Informants reactions to the thought of being sent to prison and experiences they may have had of a similar nature

i) Introduction. At the beginning of this section on prisons, informants were asked to suppose that they were sent to prison, and then to describe the one thing they thought they would most hate about it. And finally at the end of this section they were asked if they had ever had the feeling of being shut in anywhere, and if so to describe the experience fully.



ii) Reactions to the thought of being sent to prison. The most hateful thing about the thought of being sent to prison for the sample as a whole was the idea of being shut in, confined and locked up at night. This was mentioned spontaneously by 44% of informants. The main other aspects of prison they thought they would hate were:

	%
- no privacy/unpleasant living conditions/having to mix with uncongenial types/criminals	15
- loss of freedom/regimentation/routine/loss of individuality/ loss of privileges	13
- loneliness/isolation/being away from home and friends	12

All other points were mentioned by 7% or less of the sample.

Unskilled manual workers were twice as likely as the higher managerial and professional group to say they hated the thought of being shut-in and confined (52% and 26% respectively); and informants of higher socio-economic status were more likely than white-collar or manual workers to dread the loss of freedom and regimentation or routine of prison life.

Similarly, better educated informants were more likely than the less well-educated to mention loss of freedom or regimentation (22% and 11% respectively) and less likely to mention confinement (35% and 47% respectively).

A rather higher proportion of women (47%) than men (41%) mentioned being shut in, and women were also more likely to hate the thought of the lack of privacy and the unpleasant living conditions. (20% of women mentioned this, but only 11% of men mentioned it). Men were more likely than women to mention loss of freedom or regimentation and slightly more likely to fear the thought of loneliness and isolation.

What informants most hated about the idea of being sent to prison did not vary by age or the type of area in which they lived.

Nearly a third of informants who thought prisons should be less severe, said they feared most the loss of freedom and regimentation of prison life as opposed to only 12% of those who thought prisons should be more severe, and 14% of those who thought they should stay the same. But informants who thought prisons should be less severe were slightly less likely than the other two groups to mention being shut in.

iii) Experiences of a similar nature. Although being shut in or confined was the most hated aspect of prison life for 44% of the sample, the majority of the sample (61%) said that they themselves had never actually experienced the feeling of being shut in.

Only 5% recounted experiences analogous to prison such as being in an institution, penal or otherwise, (either as an inmate or a visitor), or the forces (where they said they couldn't come or go as they liked). 7% said they had actually been trapped or shut in somewhere (this included mentions of experiences undergone in war, as a result of bombing).

But a rather higher proportion of the sample (27%) described fears of a psychological nature, such as a fear of enclosed spaces, crowds, or working underground.

Men and women were equally likely to have had some kind of experience of being shut in, but women were more likely than men to have suffered psychological fears or phobias (31% and 23% respectively). This may be partly accounted for by a particular fear mentioned by some women - the sense of being confined to the house and unable to leave it because of children.

A slightly higher proportion of better educated than less well-educated informants had had some experience of this kind; and a slightly higher proportion of the better educated (31%) than the less well-educated (25%), mentioned fears or phobias.

Unskilled manual workers and the oldest age group were rather more likely than other groups to say that they had never had any feelings of this kind, but otherwise the experiences of informants varied little with Age or Socio-economic status. Nor did the type of area in which informants lived affect their liability to such experiences.

People who thought prisons should be less severe were not markedly more likely than others to have had experiences of being shut in.

Further analysis shows, as might be expected, that informants who had had some kind of experience of being shut in, were rather more likely than those who had not, to mention this as the one thing they would most hate about being in prison. (50% of those who had had this experience mentioned it, as opposed to 40% of those who had not).

However the nature of their actual experience, whether analogous to institutionalisation, traumatic or phobic, was not associated with their likelihood to fear this particular aspect of prison life.

#### C.9 APPENDIX: Attitudes of acceptance and rejection of non-violent ex-prisoners and their families

As stated in the main text informants were presented with a series of statements describing various social situations in which they might come in contact with an ex-prisoner. The situations were of two kinds, some that required positive action on the part of the informant, and some that could involve him without direct action on his part. Informants were then asked whether they would perform the former kind of action or mind having the latter happen to them. The statements were all preceded by the qualification "supposing he was not a dangerous or violent criminal".

These questions are modelled on a type of 'social distance' scale, by which informants' reactions to members of given groups (usually members of different races or religions) are compared, in terms of their willingness to allow them into varying degrees of closeness of social relationships. These degrees of closeness are usually marked by hypothetical situations which range from complete acceptance (e.g. 'would admit into close kinship by marriage') to complete rejection (e.g. 'would debar from citizenship of my country').

An appropriate score (empirically determined), is given to each positive or to each negative attitude expressed, and the overall 'social distance' rating of a group in the eyes of informants is calculated from the sum of these scores. The efficiency of such a rating depends on the uni-dimensionality of the component items of the scale, and on the items either being equidistant from one another or at least at measurable points along a continuum.

This type of 'social distance' scale is normally used for comparative purposes, and its usefulness depends on the application of the same battery of questions to compare peoples' attitudes to each of several groups (of different races, religions or occupations etc.) or to the same group at different points in time.

In the case of some of the statements used in the present questionnaire it would be extremely difficult to determine, for the purpose of scoring, which of them constituted a greater degree of acceptance or rejection of an ex-prisoner. For example does "I would mind having my children attend the same school as an ex-prisoner's children" (Statement H) constitute a greater or lesser degree of rejection than "I would not let my children play with a prisoner's or ex-prisoner's children" (Statement C)?

Some of the statements are probably multi-dimensional - for example statement F "would you consider recommending an ex-prisoner you knew for a job". Not to be prepared to do this could indicate punitiveness, but it could also indicate reluctance to involve a third party in a responsibility one might be willing to accept for oneself.

Finally, since in the present study, informants have only been asked about their attitudes to ex-prisoners, no comparisons are possible with their attitudes to other minority groups; and comparison with data collected from other sources would be of doubtful value because of the different nature and range of the items forming the scale.

The ways in which people say that they think they would act or feel in completely unfamiliar circumstances, do not afford any reliable indication of the ways in which they would react in practice, were they placed in the situations described. The present results therefore provide, at best, an indication of the relative prevalence of superficial verbal attitudes of acceptance and rejection at some different levels of social relationship.

The following table shows the ratios between unqualifiedly favourable verbal attitudes and those which were qualified or definitely unfavourable.\* The proportion of the sample who had actual experience of each situation is also shown.

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\* Between 1% and 4% expressed no opinion in relation to each item. They have been omitted in calculating the ratios.

Table A (Appendix)

Overall verbal attitudes of acceptance/rejection  
of non-violent ex-prisoners and their families

STATEMENT      Would you .....	RATIO of unqualified acceptance: rejection	Had experienced this situation
		%
H. Mind having your children attend the same school as an ex- prisoners' children	23.75	3
C. Let your children play with a prisoner's or ex-prisoner's children	6.00	4
I. Mind living next door to an ex-prisoner	4.82	3
E. Become friends with an ex-prisoner at work	2.92	11
B. (Men) Have a drink or go out with an ex-prisoner (Women) Go out with a small group of men and women, if one of the men was an ex-prisoner	2.77	16
J. Mind working with an ex-prisoner on a tricky or dangeroud job	2.13	3
A. Give money to an ex-prisoner or to a prisoner's or ex-prisoner's family.	1.59	5
D. Invite an ex-prisoner home	1.26	8
F. Consider recommending an ex-prisoner you knew for a job	0.72	5
G. Consider accepting an ex-prisoner as a partner in business	0.31	Ø
K. Mind your daughter marrying an ex-prisoner	0.31	Ø

Ø = less than 1%

D. SERIOUSNESS AND FREQUENCY OF OFFENCES (Derives principally from Section C of Schedule)

D.1 Introduction

In the preceding chapters the background of public knowledge and ignorance about some of the acts of court procedure and prison life have been described. Opinions about some of these facts as people believe them to be have been elicited, but nothing has yet been said about the nature of the crime, the criminal or the victim.

Much of the later part of the report concerns what the public think should be done and is done about criminals, what sort of people they are, why they enter into a life of crime etc.

But first, in the chapters immediately following, an attempt is made to establish certain background facts about how people evaluate different types of crime, the relative frequency with which they believe different crimes are committed, their beliefs about changes in the incidence of crime, what can be done to reduce it and allied subjects. We then move on to peoples' stereotypes of the criminal, how members of the public believe people enter a life of crime etc., before discussing popular beliefs about sentencing policy.

The present chapter deals in a very broad way with a number of selected offences, first showing which of these offences informants thought of as "serious" and which as "not serious", and secondly their beliefs about the relative incidence of some of these offences (or rather the relative numbers of cases appearing before the courts.)

This partly sets the background, showing the way in which the public think the criminal population is made up in terms of their technical offences and the seriousness of them. The subject has, because of the broad and time-consuming nature of the inquiry, been dealt with fairly sketchily. The reader will notice the absence from the lists of many common offences; and the lack of time in the present context to make any attempt to find out how people come to hold the values or have the beliefs they do means that we can describe the facts - some of which may seem surprising - but can make no serious attempt to interpret them.

D.2 Seriousness of offences

Informants were asked for their opinion on the seriousness of 18 offences. They were given a shuffled pack of 18 cards and told:- "each of these cards has something described on it which is against the law. We'd like to know which of these things you think are serious, and which you think are not serious". They were then asked to sort the cards into two piles, one pile for those offences which they themselves thought of as serious, and one for those which they thought of as not serious.

The seriousness with which these eighteen offences were regarded is shown in Table 73.

No definition of what was meant by "serious" was given, but informants did not appear to experience difficulty in deciding themselves what they thought of as "serious" or "not serious".

Table 73  
Seriousness of Offences

Offence	Serious	Not serious	Not answered	Total	Base of %: all informants
Murder	% 99	*	*	100	1904
Robbery with violence	% 99	1	*	100	1904
Committing a sexual offence against a child under 13 years	% 98	1	1	100	1904
Cruelty to children	% 98	2	*	100	1904
Indecently assaulting a woman	% 96	4	*	100	1904
Causing death by dangerous driving	% 94	6	*	100	1904
Manslaughter	% 86	14	*	100	1904
Deliberately damaging property	% 69	29	2	100	1904
Fraud (that is, obtaining money by false pretences)	% 64	35	1	100	1904
Housebreaking	% 61	38	1	100	1904
Breaking into a factory	% 46	54	*	100	1904
Stealing (without violence)	% 33	66	1	100	1904
Fighting (sometimes known as common assault)	% 30	69	1	100	1904
Taking away a motor vehicle (without the owner's consent, but NOT intending to steal it)	% 24	76	*	100	1904
Being drunk and disorderly	% 19	81	*	100	1904
Stealing by finding	% 13	86	1	100	1904
Travelling on a bus, train etc. without paying the fare	% 10	89	1	100	1904
Vagrancy (living rough with no fixed home or proper means of support)	% 10	90	*	100	1904

\* Less than 0.5 per cent

There were however, seven persons in the sample who rated murder as not serious. Six of these also rated manslaughter as not serious, but examination of their ratings of other items showed no coherent pattern. It is assumed that this small number were in some way confused by the question.

The question closely follows the form of one used by Dr. Charlotte Banks in her research among boys in borstals and detention centres and young prisoners\*. A similar procedure was deliberately followed in order to obtain comparable data from a sample of the general population. Table 74 compares the results from the two research projects.

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\* Dr. Charlotte Banks, "Borstal Prison and Detention Centres" in "Changing Concept of Crime and its Treatment" (edited and introduced by Hugh J. Klare). Pergamon Press, London 1966, pp. 117-138.

Table 74

Proportion of the general population compared with youths  
in detention centres, borstal and prison who classified  
certain offences as serious\*

	General Population	Boys in -		
		Detention Centres	Borstal	Prison
Base of %: all informants	1904	301	300	306
Gen.Popn: Murder	% 99	%	%	%
Boys : Murder by strangling		99	98	100
Murder by shooting		98	96	93
Murder while resisting arrest		96	95	99
Robbery with violence	99	96	95	97
Gen.Popn: Committing a sexual offence against a child under 13 years	98			
Boys : Sexual intercourse with girl under 13		95	89	96
Cruelty to children	98	93	88	96
Indecently assaulting a woman	96	94	93	93
Gen.Popn: Fraud (that is, obtaining money by false pretences)	64			
Boys : Obtaining money from person by fraud		65	56	65
Housebreaking	61	61	49	57
Breaking into a factory	46	48	40	50
Gen.Popn: Fighting (sometimes known as common assault)	30			
Boys : Common assault		40	36	35
Gen.Popn: Taking away a motor vehicle (without the owner's consent but NOT intending to steal it)	24			
Boys : Taking and driving a motor vehicle without the owner's consent		35	22	34
Gen.Popn: Being drunk and disorderly	19			
Boys : Drunkenness		8	4	7
Gen.Popn: Stealing by finding	13			
Boys : Larceny by finding		9	11	9
Travelling on a bus, train etc. without paying the fare	10	7	5	11

\* The wording of items was identical except where indicated.

The wording of the items is not always identical. This is partly due to modifications considered necessary for a general population sample as distinct from a sample of convicted offenders e.g. "common assault" has been modified to "fighting (sometimes known as common assault)." We also used a different wording for some items because we wanted to find the relative frequency with which members of the general population sample thought different types of offenders came before the courts. For this reason "sexual intercourse with a girl under 13" was expanded to "committing a sexual offence against a child under 13", and "drunkenness" was modified to "being drunk and disorderly" in order to define the nature of the offence rather more closely.

Although not identical in several cases, the offences described are sufficiently similar in both research projects to make comparisons of considerable interest. It will be seen from Table 74 that where the descriptions do not differ, or differ only marginally, the responses from the general population sample and the convicted boys tend to be very similar.

Looking back at Table 73, we see that the offences fall naturally into three groups:

The first group consists of seven offences, all against the person. These offences are all either explicitly stated to be, or likely to be construed as offences of violence. Between 86% and 99% thought of each of these offences as serious. However, manslaughter was less often thought of as serious (86%) than were any of the other six offences against the person (94%-99%).

The second group consists of offences against property, and the proportions thinking these offences serious range from 69% who thought that deliberately damaging property was serious down to 33% who thought that stealing (without violence) was serious.

The third group consisting of other non-indictable offences with the addition of stealing by finding, includes the offences which the lowest proportions, less than one-third, thought were serious. The range is from 30% who thought that fighting was serious, down to 10% who thought that travelling on a bus, train etc. without paying the fare, and vagrancy, were serious.

There is not a great deal of difference in the opinion of different groups of the population on whether offences are serious or not. They agree very closely on whether offences against the person are serious. However, opinion differs a little on whether some of the other offences are serious. This is particularly true of being drunk and disorderly, about which there is the greatest difference of opinion. Opinion also frequently differs about the seriousness of stealing (without violence) and housebreaking.

A marginally higher proportion of women than men thought that being drunk and disorderly was serious (21% compared with 16%), and that fighting (33% compared with 27%).

Men showed a marginal tendency to rate higher the offences against property; stealing without violence, housebreaking, and taking away a motor vehicle without the owner's consent, but differences were slight, ranging between +1% and +5%, and though consistent not all of statistical significance.

Table 75 is an analysis by SEG and level of education:-

Table 75

Proportion regarding certain offences as serious  
analysed by socio-economic status and by level of education

	Total	S.E.G.					Education	
		1	2	3	4	5	Higher	Lower
Base of %: all informants	1904	97	158	434	401	328	409	1489
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Murder	99	100	99	99	99	99	100	99
Robbery with violence	99	100	98	99	99	97	99	98
Committing a sexual offence against a child under 13 years	98	98	99	98	99	98	99	98
Cruelty to children	98	99	98	98	97	97	98	97
Indecently assaulting a woman	96	99	96	96	95	93	98	95
Causing a death by dangerous driving	94	96	92	95	94	92	97	93
Manslaughter	86	89	83	89	83	83	87	85
Deliberately damaging property	69	66	65	73	67	69	72	68
Fraud	64	69	61	69	61	62	68	63
Housebreaking	61	62	61	64	61	61	63	60
Breaking into a factory	46	50	42	52	42	45	51	44
Stealing (without violence)	33	50	30	38	32	26	45	30
Fighting (common assault)	30	26	27	30	29	32	25	32
Taking away a motor vehicle without owner's consent	24	24	18	24	27	29	25	23
Being drunk and disorderly	19	16	14	19	18	21	15	20
Stealing by finding	15	9	14	12	13	14	15	13
Travelling on a bus, train etc. without paying the fare	10	8	7	10	8	14	10	10
Vagrancy	10	4	8	8	10	13	5	11

There was a tendency for most offences to be regarded as serious by a higher proportion of those with higher education. The exceptions to this were being drunk and disorderly, fighting, and vagrancy, all of which a higher proportion of those in the lower education group regarded as serious.

These three offences (being drunk and disorderly, fighting and vagrancy) were also regarded as serious by a higher proportion of those in the lower socio-economic groups.

The higher managerial and professional group thought most often that stealing (without violence) was serious, and unskilled workers thought this less often than any other demographic group for which analyses was made.

An analysis by age follows:-

Table 76

Proportion regarding certain offences  
as serious analysed by age

	Total	Age			
		21-30	31-40	41-50	51-69
Base of %: all informants	1904	317	417	454	712
	%	%	%	%	%
Murder	99	99	99	100	99
Robbery with violence	99	100	99	100	97
Committing a sexual offence against a child under 13 years	98	99	98	99	98
Cruelty to children	98	98	99	98	96
Indecently assaulting a woman	96	93	95	97	96
Causing death by dangerous driving	94	94	95	94	93
Manslaughter	86	88	88	85	84
Deliberately damaging property	69	69	68	69	70
Fraud	64	66	68	64	62
Housebreaking	61	55	62	62	62
Breaking into a factory	46	47	44	47	45
Stealing (without violence)	33	34	37	35	29
Fighting (common assault)	30	26	33	29	31
Taking away a motor vehicle without owner's consent	24	18	26	26	24
Being drunk and disorderly	19	15	12	23	21
Stealing by finding	13	10	12	15	14
Travelling on a bus, train etc. without paying the fare	10	8	9	10	12
Vagrancy	10	11	9	8	10

The seriousness of several offences was regarded differently by different age groups. However, the difference in the distribution of opinion does not occur between the same age groups for all offences.

A higher proportion of each of the two older age groups (age 41 and over) than others, regarded being drunk and disorderly as serious.

A higher proportion of those age 31 and over than of younger people regarded housebreaking and taking away a motor vehicle without the owner's consent as serious.

Stealing (without violence) was regarded as being serious by a higher proportion of each age group under 51 than by those age 51 to 69.

Unusually, there were marginal differences in relation to the type of area in which informants lived.

Table 77

Proportion regarding certain offences as serious analysed by type of area

	Total	Type of Area		
		Conurbation	Other Urban	Rural
Base of %: all informants	1904	634	856	414
	%	%	%	%
Murder	99	99	99	99
Robbery with violence	99	98	99	98
Committing a sexual offence against a child under 15 years	98	98	99	99
Cruelty to children	98	97	98	93
Indecently assaulting a woman	96	95	96	96
Causing death by dangerous driving	94	93	94	94
Manslaughter	86	84	87	84
Deliberately damaging property	69	66	72	69
Fraud	64	61	67	66
Housebreaking	61	64	59	60
Breaking into a factory	46	47	43	49
Stealing (without violence)	33	33	33	33
Fighting (common assault)	30	30	30	31
Taking away a motor vehicle without owner's consent	24	23	24	25
Being drunk and disorderly	19	16	19	22
Stealing by finding	13	13	14	12
Travelling on a bus, train etc. without paying the fare	10	11	10	11
Vagrancy	10	12	9	6

A slightly higher proportion of informants living in conurbations than other areas thought that housebreaking (an offence which one would expect to be more prevalent in conurbations), was serious. However, a lower proportion living in conurbations thought that being drunk and disorderly, deliberately damaging property and fraud were serious.

Following an explanation that "there are things that some people don't really think of as law-breaking at the time they do them", informants who were interviewed on one of the two questionnaires, which also included the present section, were asked "Have you at any time in your life - (i) Travelled on the railway, bus or tube without paying? ii) Taken anything from work which you weren't really supposed to?"

### D.3 Two minor offences:- Evaluation and admitted personal behaviour

We examined the answers to these questions in relation to whether the informant thought a similar offence was serious or not. Tables 78 and 79 show that informants who admit to being guilty themselves of these offences were less likely than others to say that they were serious.

Table 78

Whether travelling on a bus, train etc. without paying the fare is serious by whether personally travelled without paying the fare

	Personally Travelled Without Paying Fare	
	YES	NO
Base of %:	448	494
<u>Travelling on a bus, train etc. without paying the fare is -</u>	%	%
Serious	6	12
Not Serious	94	88
Total	100	100

Table 79

Whether stealing by finding is serious by whether personally taken anything from work

	Personally Taken Anything From Work	
	YES	NO
Base of %:	311	631
<u>Stealing by finding is -</u>	%	%
Serious	8	15
Not Serious	92	85
Total	100	100

There was some, but by no means complete, consistency between peoples' attitudes towards the seriousness of these offences and whether or not they admitted having done them personally.

#### D.4 Frequency of offences

After having given their opinion on the seriousness of eighteen offences, informants were handed a second pack of ten cards which described ten of the same offences again(i). They were then asked to think of all the people that are taken to court each year accused of offences and to arrange the cards in order, starting with whichever of the things described on the cards they thought the largest number are accused of, and going down to the thing that they thought the smallest number are accused of. Interviewers were instructed to rank the offence which the informant thought the largest number are accused of as "1", and so on downwards to "10" for the offence which the informant thought the smallest number are accused of.(ii)

The ranking of these ten offences by informants is shown in Table 80.

The relative frequency with which informants thought that people are taken to court each year accused of these ten offences, is shown by the mean rank given to each offence (column 1 of Table 81). The lower the figure indicating the mean rank of an offence, the more prosecutions are thought to take place for this offence in a year. Conversely, the higher the figure indicating the mean rank of an offence, the fewer prosecutions are thought to take place for this offence in a year.

- 
- (i) But combining house-breaking and factory-breaking as one offence-type.
- (ii) Pilot work showed that a substantial number of informants went completely wrong in their ranking of these offences, stating, for example that murderers appeared in court more often than those accused of certain petty non-indictable offences. A sophisticated misunderstanding of the question was suspected - for example that some people might be answering in terms of what they believed to be the relative proportions of offenders of each type who were detected and taken to court, or that the ranking might in some cases be inverted. Not only was the question rephrased in very explicit terms, but interviewers were briefed, both in their written instructions and verbally, to look out for any misunderstanding, and to restate the question when in any doubt. We think it unlikely that the question has been misunderstood, but think it probable that the publicity given to certain types of offence by the media leads people to think that they are much more frequently committed than, in fact, they are.

Table 80

## Frequency Ranking of Offences by Informants

	Rank			rank not ascertained	Total	% Base all informants
	1-3	4-7	8-10			
	most frequent	least frequent				
Housebreaking/breaking into a factory	% 53	35	10	2	100	1904
Being drunk and disorderly	% 46	31	21	2	100	1904
Taking away a motor vehicle without owner's consent	% 34	41	23	2	100	1904
Robbery with violence	% 32	42	24	2	100	1904
Fighting (common assault)	% 31	42	25	2	100	1904
Deliberately damaging property	% 28	47	23	2	100	1904
Cruelty to children	% 22	48	28	2	100	1904
Fraud	% 17	55	26	2	100	1904
Committing a sexual offence against a child under 15 years	% 16	31	51	2	100	1904
Murder	% 16	17	65	2	100	1904

Table 81

## Relative frequency of offences as ranked by informants compared with actual frequency

	Mean Rank given by Informants	Order of Mean Rank given by Informants	Offence <sup>1)</sup> Number(s)	Actual <sup>2)</sup> Frequency	Order of Actual Frequency
Housebreaking/breaking into a factory	3.7	1st	28,29	12,471	4th
Being drunk and disorderly	4.4	2nd	141	33,048	1st
Taking away a motor vehicle without owner's consent	5.0	3rd	138	23,833	2nd
Robbery with violence	5.1	4th	34	1,918	7th
Fighting (common assault)	5.3	5th	105	6,215	5th
Deliberately damaging property	5.3	5th	149	17,800	3rd
Cruelty to children	5.7	7th	11,109	578	9th
Fraud	5.9	8th	50	3,630	6th
Committing a sexual offence against a child under 13 years	6.8	9th	21,22	1,098	8th
Murder	7.6	10th	74,192 1	192	10th

1) Offence number as given in "Criminal Statistics, England and Wales, 1965".

2) Source: "Criminal Statistics England and Wales, 1965." Actual frequency = Total number proceeded against in magistrates' courts minus charge withdrawn or dismissed.

Informants tended to have a markedly incorrect impression of the relative frequency of three offences in particular. These were robbery with violence, factory and housebreaking, and cruelty to children. They thought that relatively more people are accused of each of these three offences than actually are.

Informants also had the impression that relatively fewer people are accused of deliberately damaging property and fraud than actually are.

Table 82 is an analysis by sex and age, showing the mean ranks given to each item by each groups:-

Table 82

Relative frequency of offences as ranked by  
informants analysed by sex and by age

	Total	Sex		Age			
		Male	Female	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-69
Base: all informants	1904	933	971	317	417	454	712
Housebreaking/breaking into a factory	3.7	3.3	4.2	3.6	3.5	3.8	3.8
Being drunk and disorderly	4.4	4.1	4.6	3.7	4.0	4.3	5.0
Taking away a motor vehicle without owner's consent	5.0	4.5	5.5	5.3	5.0	5.1	4.9
Robbery with violence	5.1	5.4	4.9	5.4	5.3	5.0	5.0
Fighting (common assault)	5.3	5.2	5.4	4.9	5.0	5.3	5.6
Deliberately damaging property	5.3	5.2	5.4	5.4	5.4	5.4	5.1
Cruelty to children	5.7	5.9	5.5	5.9	5.8	5.8	5.6
Fraud	5.9	5.7	6.1	6.2	6.0	5.8	5.8
Committing a sexual offence against a child under 13 years	6.8	7.3	6.3	6.9	7.1	6.7	6.5
Murder	7.6	8.3	7.0	7.7	7.9	7.6	7.5

Sex differences were mostly slight. Compared with women, men thought that relatively more people are accused of factory and housebreaking, and taking away a vehicle without the owner's consent.

On the other hand, women thought that relatively more people are accused of sexual offences against a child under 13 and murder.

Younger compared with older informants thought that relatively more people are accused of being drunk and disorderly and fighting. The mean ranks given to being drunk and disorderly ranged from 3.7 by those age 21-30 to 5.0 by those age 51-69. The mean ranks given to fighting ranged from 4.9 by those age 21-30 to 5.6 by those age 51-69.

Table 83 is an analysis by SEG and level of education.

Table 83

Relative frequency of offences as ranked by informants  
analysed by socio-economic status and level of education

	Total	S.E.G.					Education	
		1	2	3	4	5	Higher	Lower
Base: all informants	1904	97	158	434	401	328	409	1489
Housebreaking/breaking into a factory	3.7	2.7	3.0	3.8	3.5	4.2	2.9	3.9
Being drunk and disorderly	4.4	3.9	3.9	3.9	4.4	4.8	3.8	4.6
Taking away a motor vehicle without owner's consent	5.0	3.7	4.6	5.1	4.6	5.2	4.7	5.1
Robbery with violence	5.1	5.8	5.7	5.3	5.4	4.7	5.7	5.0
Fighting (common assault)	5.3	4.8	5.0	4.9	5.3	5.8	4.9	5.4
Deliberately damaging property	5.3	4.9	5.1	5.6	5.1	5.5	5.2	5.3
Cruelty to children	5.7	6.3	5.7	5.7	6.0	5.5	6.0	5.6
Fraud	5.9	5.7	5.7	5.8	5.8	6.2	5.7	5.9
Committing a sexual offence against a child under 13 years	6.8	7.8	7.6	6.9	6.8	6.3	7.3	6.6
Murder	7.6	9.3	8.6	7.8	7.9	6.8	8.7	7.4

Informants in the higher compared with lower socio-economic groups thought that relatively more people are accused of factory and housebreaking. The mean ranks given for this offence ranged from 2.7 by the higher managerial and professional workers (S.E.G.1) to 4.2 by the unskilled manual workers (S.E.G.5).

The non-manual (S.E.G. 1,2,3) compared with the manual (S.E.G. 4,5) workers thought that relatively more people are accused of being drunk and disorderly and fighting.

However, there were two offences, both against the person with which the lower socio-economic groups compared with others thought that relatively more people are accused. These were committing a sexual offence against a child under 13 and murder. The mean ranks given to committing a sexual offence against a child under 13, ranged from 6.3 by the unskilled manual workers (S.E.G. 5) to 7.8 by the higher managerial and professional workers (S.E.G. 1). The mean ranks given to murder ranged from 6.8 by the unskilled manual workers (S.E.G. 5) to 9.3 by the higher managerial and professional workers (S.E.G. 1).

Unskilled manual workers (S.E.G. 5) showed a more pronounced tendency than others to think that relatively more people are accused of robbery with violence and cruelty to children.

Similar differences occur in the ranks given to the offences by informants with higher and lower education as the differences in ranks given to the offences by informants of higher and lower socio-economic groups.

Informants in the higher education group compared with others thought that relatively more people are accused of factory and housebreaking, being drunk and disorderly, and fighting.

Informants in the lower education group thought that relatively more people are accused of the offences against the person (robbery with violence, cruelty to children, committing a sexual offence against a child under 13 and murder).

#### D.5 Joint ranking of three selected offences of violence

We looked to see how often three selected offences of violence to the person (murder, robbery with violence, and committing a sexual offence against a child under 13) were ranked between 1 and 5 in order of frequency. As our previous findings already suggest, more of these offences were ranked between 1 and 5 by women, the lower socio-economic groups, and the less well-educated.

Table 84

Frequency with which three selected offences\* of violence against the person were ranked between 1 and 5

	Total	Sex		S.E.G.					Education	
		Male	Female	1	2	3	4	5	Higher	Lower
Base: all informants	1904	933	971	97	158	434	401	328	409	1489
None of the selected offences ranked 1-5	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1 selected offence ranked 1-5	40	44	35	61	49	42	39	32	52	36
2 selected offences ranked 1-5	30	33	27	29	35	32	31	28	32	29
3 selected offences ranked 1-5	16	15	18	7	13	12	13	18	8	18
	14	8	20	3	3	14	12	22	8	16
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Mean number of 3 selected offences which were ranked 1-5 in order of frequency	1.0	0.9	1.2	0.5	0.7	1.0	1.0	1.3	0.7	1.1

\* The 3 selected offences were murder, robbery with violence, and committing a sexual offence against a child under 13.

As Table 85 shows, only 8% of men compared with 20% of women ranked all three of these offences of violence against the person between 1 and 5 in order of frequency.

Among the various socio-economic groups the proportion who ranked all three offences between 1 and 5 was highest among unskilled manual workers. Twenty-two per cent of this group (S.E.G. 5) ranked all three offences between 1 and 5 compared with 3% of the managerial and professional groups (S.E.G. 1 and 2), 14% of the white collar workers (S.E.G. 3) and 12% of skilled manual workers (S.E.G. 4).

Eight per cent of those in the higher education group compared with twice as many (16%) of those in the lower education group, ranked all three between 1 and 5.

The type of area in which informants lived made very little difference to the way they ranked the offences.

E. THE INCREASE IN CRIME AND POSSIBLE WAYS OF REDUCING IT (Derives principally from sections B and D of schedule)

E.1 Introduction

Were the general public aware that there had been a very general increase in the incidence of known crimes in the few years preceding this inquiry? If so, which of various possible measures did they think would have some effect, greater or lesser, in reducing crime. These are very generalised questions, and were asked specifically about each of six selected indictable and non-indictable offences.

It cannot be expected that the general public will be able to express considered opinions in one part of a long interview about the details of crime prevention. They were asked to assess the relative effectiveness of seven specific measures which were described to them. Usually the majority opinion was that each measure would make a difference, very frequently a lot of difference. These results should be considered in a comparative rather than an absolute sense. First, the suggested measures were partly derived from those most often suggested in free interviews preceding the inquiry; secondly, any reasonable-sounding measure is likely to appear to be effective to people who have not thought of it before. We would particularly emphasise the negative results - the extent to which different measures were thought of as unlikely to make any difference, or only a slight one.

E.2 Changes in the Incidence of Certain Crimes

In order to ascertain whether people had the impression that there had been any appreciable change in the incidence of certain crimes in recent years, informants were asked whether they thought that the number of each of six selected indictable and non-indictable offences committed, had increased "quite a bit" over the past few years, had not changed much, or had decreased. Their answers are shown in Table 85.

Table 85

Changes in the Incidence of Certain Crimes over the past few years

Q.5 In the past few years do you think the number of (Crimes A-F in turn) committed has increased quite a bit, or not changed much, or decreased

Offences. (Letters indicate the order in which informants were asked about each offence)	Increased quite a bit	Not changed much	Decreased	Don't know; not answered	Total	Base of % all informants
B. Robberies with violence	% 87	11	1	1	100	1904
C. Breakings and enterings	% 80	17	1	2	100	1904
F. Thefts (without violence)	% 76	21	1	2	100	1904
A. Murders	% 75	23	1	1	100	1904
D. Sexual offences against children under 13	% 59	33	2	6	100	1904
E. Fights (sometimes known as common assaults)	% 38	47	13	2	100	1904

As Table 85 shows, nearly nine out of ten thought that the number of robberies with violence had increased quite a bit in recent years'; eight out of ten thought that the number of breakings and enterings had increased quite a bit; about three-quarters thought the same about the number of thefts without violence and about the number of murders. Well over a half thought that the number of sexual offences against children had increased quite a bit. However, the majority thought that the number of fights had either not changed much (47%) or had decreased (13%).

With the exception of fights (13%), only a very small minority (1% - 2%) thought that the incidence of any of the crimes had declined.

Table 87 compares for each of the selected crimes except fighting, the proportion who thought that the number of offenders had increased quite a bit in recent years, with the actual change in the number of cases known to the police between 1963 and 1965.

The numbers in parenthesis in the second, third, and fourth columns of Table 86 give the proportional change (based on 1963) in the number of cases of each of the offences which were known to the police.

Table 86

Selected crimes which informants thought had "increased quite a bit" in the past few years compared with the actual number of cases of these crimes known to the police

	Offence <sup>(1)</sup> Number	Known to the Police in:-			Informants thought "INCREASED "QUITE A BIT"
		1963	1964	1965	
Robberies with violence (Annual incidence 1963 = 100)	34	2,483 (100)	3,066 (121)	3,736 (150)	% 87
Breakings and enterings (Annual incidence 1963 = 100)	28,29	71,866 (100)	79,859 (111)	85,562 (119)	80
Thefts (without violence) (Annual incidence 1963 = 100)	37,49	655,627 (100)	704,116 (110)	744,155 (117)	76
Murders (Annual incidence 1963 = 100)	1	153 (100)	170 (111)	171 (111)	75
Sexual offences against children under 15 (Annual incidence 1963 = 100)	21,22	4,368 (100)	3,975 (91)	4,215 (97)	59
Fights (common assaults)	-	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	38

(1) Offence number as given in Criminal Statistics, England and Wales, 1965.  
(n.a. = not available)

The incidence of robberies with violence, breakings and enterings, thefts without violence and murders all increased between 1963 and 1965, but in very different proportions, ranging from the 11% increase in the number of murders to the 50% increase in the number of robberies with violence. The greater the actual increase in this period, the higher the proportion of informants who thought that the number of offences had increased quite a bit in recent years. However, discrimination between these offences was marginal, and between 75% and 87% believed that each had increased quite a bit in frequency.

Sexual offences against children under 13 known to the police had in fact declined a little in frequency, but a majority (59%) of informants thought that the incidence of this offence had increased appreciably, and only 2% thought it had declined.

The results suggest that the majority of people had the impression that crime in general had increased substantially, but tended to attribute the increase to different types of offence rather indiscriminately.

Table 87 is an analysis by sex and age of those who thought that each of the six offences had increased "quite a bit" in frequency.

Table 87

Selected crimes which informants thought had  
"increased quite a bit" in the past few years  
analysed by sex and age of informant

	All	Sex		Age			
		Male	Female	21-30	31-40	41-50	over 50
Base of %: all informants	1904	933	971	317	417	454	712
Robberies with violence	% 87	% 89	% 86	% 83	% 88	% 88	% 88
Breakings and enterings	80	82	78	68	76	82	86
Thefts (without violence)	76	79	73	70	79	76	77
Murders	75	70	80	76	65	72	82
Sexual offences against children under 13	59	53	65	65	58	56	60
Fights (common assaults)	38	38	38	33	35	40	40

Women were substantially more inclined than men to think that the number of murders and of sexual offences against children under 13 had increased quite a bit.

Men were marginally, but consistently more inclined than women to think that the three offences against property (robbery with violence, breaking and entering, and theft without violence) had increased appreciably.

The proportions thinking that the number of breakings and enterings had increased, was substantially higher among the older than younger informants. The proportions with this opinion increased systematically with age from 68% of those aged 21-30 to 86% of those over 50.

There was a tendency for fewer of the youngest age group (21-30) than of informants over 30 to think that the three selected offences against property (robbery with violence, breakings and enterings, thefts without violence) had increased in frequency in recent years.

On the other hand, the youngest age group (21-30) more often than those over 30 thought that sexual offences against children under 13 had increased.

The proportion who thought that the number of murders had increased was greatest among those over 50.

Table 88 is an analysis by the informants socio-economic status of those saying each offence had increased "quite a bit" in frequency.

Table 88

Selected crimes which informants thought had  
"increased quite a bit" in the past few years  
analysed by socio-economic status of informant

Offences (letters indicate the order in which informants were asked about each offence)	All	S.E.G.				
		1	2	3	4	5
Base of %: all informants	1904	97	158	434	401	328
B. Robberies with violence	% 87	% 94	% 88	% 88	% 89	% 81
C. Breakings and enterings	80	90	83	80	80	78
F. Thefts (without violence)	76	82	82	79	78	67
A. Murders	75	57	70	74	75	81
D. Sexual offences against children under 13	59	43	55	54	59	62
E. Fights (common assaults)	38	31	32	38	41	38

The lower the informants' socio-economic group, the more likely they were to think that the number of murders and of sexual offences against children under 13 had increased quite a bit over the past few years.

The higher managerial and professional group (S.E.G.1.) thought more often than others that robberies with violence and breakings and enterings had increased quite a bit.

Opinion on the other offence against property (theft without violence), was similarly distributed among all socio-economic groups except the unskilled manual workers (S.E.G.5.). Fewer of this group than others thought that thefts without violence had increased appreciably over the past few years.

Table 89 is an analysis by the informants' education of those saying each offence had increased quite a bit in frequency.

Table 89

Selected crimes which informants thought had  
"increased quite a bit" in the past few years  
analysed by education of informant

	All	Education	
		Higher	Lower
Base of %: all informants	1904	409	1489
Robberies with violence	% 87	% 89	% 87
Breakings and enterings	80	81	80
Thefts (without violence)	76	80	75
Murders	75	64	78
Sexual offences against children under 13	59	53	61
Fights (common assaults)	38	36	38

A greater proportion of informants in the lower than higher education group thought that the number of murders and of sexual offences against children under 13 had increased "quite a bit" over the past few years.

On the other hand, a marginally greater proportion of informants in the higher than lower education group thought that theft without violence had increased.

### E.3 The Detection of Certain Crimes

For each of the six crimes presented, informants were also asked "For how many of the (cases) the police get to know about would you say someone is found and accused in court - nearly all; or more than half; or less than half; or very few?" Their replies are shown in Table 90.

Table 90 shows that the two crimes about which the highest proportion thought that nearly all known cases ended in prosecution were both crimes of violence against the person (murder and sexual offences against children under 13). For both of these crimes, the proportion who thought that very few of the cases ended in prosecution was low. The same is true to a lesser extent of the third crime of violence about which informants were questioned (robbery with violence).

Although compared with murder and sexual offences against children under 13, a lower proportion (24%) thought that nearly all robberies with violence ended in prosecution, the proportion who thought that more than a half ended in prosecution was higher (48%).

Table 90

The proportion of selected crimes which  
informants thought ended in prosecution

Q.6 For how many of the (Crimes A to F in turn) the police get to know about would you say someone is found and accused in court - Nearly all; or more than half; or less than half; or very few?

	Proportion Ending in Prosecution					Total	Base of%: All informants
	Nearly all	More than half	Less than half	Very few	Not answered; Don't know		
Murders	% 35	45	14	3	3	100	1904
Sexual offences against children under 13	% 32	32	22	8	6	100	1904
Fights (common assaults)	% 27	23	25	21	4	100	1904
Robberies with violence	% 24	48	22	2	4	100	1904
Breakings and enterings	% 13	31	42	12	2	100	1904
Thefts (without violence)	% 10	28	40	18	4	100	1904

Substantial proportions of the whole sample thought that only a minority (less than half or very few) of cases of murder (17%), of sexual offences against children under 13 (30%), and of robberies with violence (24%) ended in prosecution.

Opinion about fighting was mixed. Just over a quarter thought that nearly all fights ended in prosecution, but compared with their opinion on the other five crimes, a higher proportion (about a fifth) thought that very few fights ended in prosecution.

The majority thought that less than a half or very few breakings and enterings and thefts without violence ended in prosecution.

For each of the selected crimes, the proportion which informants thought ended in prosecution was compared with the actual number of cases cleared up<sup>(1)</sup> in 1965, expressed as a proportion of the total number of cases known to the police in that year.

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(1) Source: Criminal Statistics, England and Wales, 1965.

Table 91

The proportion of selected crimes which informants thought ended in prosecution compared with the actual proportion of cases of these crimes cleared up in 1965.<sup>(1)</sup>

	Murders	Sexual offences against children under 13	Robberies with violence	Breakings and enterings	Thefts (without violence)
Base of %: all informants	1904	1904	1904	1904	1904
<u>Proportion ending in prosecution -</u>	%	%	%	%	%
Nearly all	35) 45)80	32) 32)64	24) 48)72	13) 31)44	10) 28)38
More than half					
Less than half	14) 3)17	22) 8)30	22) 2)24	42) 12)54	40) 18)58
Very few					
Don't know; not answered	3	6	4	2	4
Total	100	100	100	100	100
Proportion of cases known to the police, cleared up in 1965	89%	88%	37%	31%	33%

A similar proportion (nearly 9 out of 10) of murders and of sexual offences against children under 13 which were known to the police in 1965 were cleared up. Eighty per cent of informants thought that the majority (nearly all or more than half) of known murders ended in prosecution, and 64% thought that this was true of the majority of cases of sexual offences against children under 13. However, these proportions include only about one-third who thought that "nearly all" known cases were cleared up. Seventeen per cent thought that only a minority (less than half or very few) of murders, and 30% that only a minority of sexual offences against children were cleared up.

Seventy-two per cent thought that the majority of robberies with violence led to prosecution, whereas only 37% of cases known to the police in 1965 were in fact cleared up.

Only a small majority (54%) thought that less than half or very few of all breakings and enterings ended in prosecution, the true proportion being less than a third. Forty four per cent thought that the majority of such cases led to prosecution.

Only, 58% thought that a minority of thefts without violence ended in prosecution, whereas it was in fact a third. 58% thought that the majority of such cases ended in prosecution.

The results show that many informants had a completely wrong impression of the proportion of cases of each offence which were cleared up.

(1) Offences classified as cleared up include those for which a person is arrested or summoned or for which he is cautioned, those taken into consideration by a court where he is found guilty on another charge, and certain of those for which a person is known or suspected to be guilty, but for which he cannot for some reason be prosecuted (e.g. died).

Tables 92, 93 and 94 which follow are analyses by informants' sex, socio-economic status and level of education of responses to this series of questions.

Table 92 shows that the differences in the distribution of beliefs among men and women were mostly slight, but men were appreciably more inclined than women to think that less than half of the three offences against property (robberies with violence, breakings and enterings, thefts without violence) ended in prosecution.

It is shown in Table 93 that the proportions thinking that nearly all breakings and enterings and thefts without violence ended in prosecution declined systematically with rising S.E.G., from 18% (S.E.G.5) to 4% (S.E.G.1) for breakings and enterings, and from 14% (S.E.G.5) to 2% (S.E.G.1) for thefts without violence. Other differences were comparatively slight and unsystematic.

Analysis by education of informant (Table 94) shows that more informants in the lower than in the higher education group thought that for four out of the six crimes (murders, robberies with violence, breakings and enterings, theft without violence) nearly all of the cases ended in prosecution.

More informants in the lower than in the higher education group thought that very few fights ended in prosecution.

There were no significant differences in the distribution of opinion between informants in different age groups for any of these questions, so no analysis by age is shown in this report.

Table 96 shows that a much higher proportion of women than of men thought that it would make a lot of difference to the number of people breaking the law if there was less about crime on TV and in films, papers, and books; and if there was less temptation put in people's way by the shops not displaying their goods so openly.

Men were more inclined than women to think that it would make a lot of difference if the police force improved their method of catching people who had broken the law.

Table 97 shows that people over 50 were considerably more inclined than their juniors to think that it would make a lot of difference if shops did not display their goods so openly.

There was a systematic and marked increase with age in the proportion saying that less publicity about crime would reduce it a lot, ranging from 30% of the youngest age groups (21-30) to 55% of those over 50.

Table 92

The proportion of selected crimes which informants thought ended in prosecution analysed by sex of informant

	Total	Sex	
		Male	Female
Base of %: all informants	1904	933	971
<u>Murders</u>	%	%	%
Nearly all	35	33	38
More than half	45	48	42
Less than half	14	15	13
Very few	3	2	4
Don't know; not answered	3	2	3
Total	100	100	100
<u>Sexual offences against children under 13</u>			
Nearly all	32	34	30
More than half	32	32	32
Less than half	22	20	23
Very few	8	7	9
Don't know; not answered	6	7	6
Total	100	100	100
<u>Fights (common assaults)</u>			
Nearly all	27	27	26
More than half	23	24	22
Less than half	25	24	27
Very few	21	22	19
Don't know; not answered	4	3	6
Total	100	100	100
<u>Robberies with violence</u>			
Nearly all	24	20	23
More than half	48	49	48
Less than half	22	26	19
Very few	2	2	2
Don't know; not answered	4	3	3
Total	100	100	100
<u>Breakings and enterings</u>			
Nearly all	13	11	14
More than half	31	29	32
Less than half	42	47	37
Very few	12	11	12
Don't know; not answered	2	2	5
Total	100	100	100
<u>Thefts (without violence)</u>			
Nearly all	10	9	12
More than half	28	26	30
Less than half	40	44	37
Very few	18	19	17
Don't know; not answered	4	2	4
Total	100	100	100

Table 93

The proportion of selected crimes which informants thought ended in prosecution analysed by socio-economic status of informant

	Total	S.E.G.				
		1	2	3	4	5
Base of %: all informants	1904	97	158	434	401	328
<u>Murders</u>	%	%	%	%	%	%
Nearly all	35	21	30	38	37	35
More than half	45	51	48	48	46	40
Less than half	14	23	18	12	12	17
Very few	3	1	1	1	4	5
Don't know; not answered	3	4	3	1	1	3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
<u>Sexual offences against children under 13</u>						
Nearly all	32	35	33	32	33	35
More than half	32	37	29	31	33	28
Less than half	22	14	20	25	21	21
Very few	8	6	7	6	8	10
Don't know; not answered	6	8	11	6	5	6
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
<u>Fights (common assaults)</u>						
Nearly all	27	22	28	25	29	26
More than half	23	36	23	22	24	19
Less than half	25	24	27	28	25	27
Very few	21	16	18	20	21	25
Don't know; not answered	4	2	4	5	3	3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
<u>Robberies with violence</u>						
Nearly all	24	13	18	24	22	27
More than half	48	50	45	52	47	46
Less than half	22	32	31	22	25	20
Very few	2	2	1	1	3	3
Don't know; not answered	4	3	5	1	3	4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
<u>Breakings and enterings</u>						
Nearly all	13	4	8	10	15	18
More than half	31	15	29	34	30	28
Less than half	42	62	46	44	42	38
Very few	12	17	12	10	11	13
Don't know; not answered	2	2	5	2	2	3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
<u>Thefts (without violence)</u>						
Nearly all	10	2	8	9	11	14
More than half	28	16	20	27	27	29
Less than half	40	52	52	44	40	34
Very few	18	28	15	17	18	20
Don't know; not answered	4	2	5	3	4	3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table 94

The proportion of selected crimes which informants  
thought ended in prosecution analysed by education  
of informant

	Total	Education	
		Higher	Lower
Base of %: all informants	1904	409	1489
<u>Murders</u>	%	%	%
Nearly all	35	31	37
More than half	45	48	44
Less than half	14	17	14
Very few	3	2	3
Don't know; not answered	3	2	2
Total	100	100	100
<u>Sexual offences against children under 13</u>			
Nearly all	32	34	32
More than half	32	35	31
Less than half	22	19	22
Very few	8	7	8
Don't know; not answered	6	5	7
Total	100	100	100
<u>Fights (common assaults)</u>			
Nearly all	27	25	27
More than half	23	28	21
Less than half	25	26	26
Very few	21	16	22
Don't know; not answered	4	5	4
Total	100	100	100
<u>Robberies with violence</u>			
Nearly all	24	18	25
More than half	48	52	47
Less than half	22	26	22
Very few	2	2	3
Don't know; not answered	4	2	3
Total	100	100	100
<u>Breakings and enterings</u>			
Nearly all	13	8	14
More than half	31	28	31
Less than half	42	50	40
Very few	12	11	12
Don't know; not answered	2	3	3
Total	100	100	100
<u>Thefts (without violence)</u>			
Nearly all	10	7	11
More than half	28	25	28
Less than half	40	46	39
Very few	18	19	18
Don't know; not answered	4	3	4
Total	100	100	100

#### E.4 Some possible Ways of Reducing Crime

Seven statements were presented to informants suggesting some possible ways of catching more of the people who break the law, and of putting less temptation in their way. Informants were asked to say how much difference they thought implementing each of these suggestions would make - a lot of difference; some difference; a little difference; or no difference - to the number of people breaking the law. Their answers are shown in Table 95.

Table 95

#### Some possible ways of reducing crime

Q.2 "I'd like to ask you about some possible ways of catching more of the people who break the law, and of putting less temptation in their way".

Do you think it would make a lot of difference; some difference; a little difference; or no difference to the number of people breaking the law if ... (Ask for A to G in turn)

<u>Whether it would make a difference to the number of people breaking the law if-</u>	A difference	amount of difference			No difference	Don't Know Not answered	Total	Base of %: all informants
		lot	some	little				
First offenders and petty offenders were kept in separate prisons from hardened criminals	% 92	61	23	8	5	3	100	1904
the public guarded their property more carefully	% 91	57	22	12	8	1	100	1904
the police force was made bigger	% 86	51	27	8	12	2	100	1904
the police force improved their method of catching people who had broken the law	% 83	42	30	11	11	6	100	1904
the police force spent more time on serious crime and less on petty things	% 82	54	20	8	14	4	100	1904
there was less about crime on TV and in films, papers, and books	% 77	44	19	14	20	3	100	1904
the shops did not display their goods so openly	% 72	30	24	18	26	2	100	1904

Opinions on each of these suggestions are commented on below:-

"If first offenders and petty offenders were kept in separate prisons from hardened criminals"

This was the most widely and strongly favoured of the seven suggestions. About nine informants out of ten thought it would make a difference to the number of people breaking the law, and 61% thought it would make a lot of difference. Few (13%) thought it would make little or no difference.

"If the public guarded their property more carefully"

This was a little less strongly favoured. Although again nine out of ten thought it would make a difference and the majority that it would make a lot of difference, a fifth thought it would have little or no effect.

"If the police force was made bigger"

"If the police force improved their method of catching people who had broken the law"

"If the police force spent more time on serious crime and less on petty things."

These three statements were next most frequently thought to describe effective means of reducing crime. A fairly similar proportion (more than 8 informants out of 10) thought that each would make a difference. A majority thought that changes in the size of the police force and the allocation of their time would make a lot of difference, but only a minority thought that changes in the methods used by the police would make a lot of difference.

"If there was less about crime on T.V. and in films, papers, and books."

This was one of the least favoured of the seven suggestions. Just over three - quarters thought that it would make a difference to the number of people breaking the law, yet only a minority (44%) thought it would make a lot of difference, and about a third that it would have little or no effect.

"If the shops did not display their goods so openly"

This was less favoured than any of the other suggestions. Just under a third thought it would make a lot of difference, and 44% that it would make little or no difference.

As the following tables 96-98 show, opinion frequently differed among the various groups of the population about the effect which implementing these last two suggestions would have on the number of people breaking the law. However there was very little difference between groups in the distribution of opinion about the effects of implementing any of the other five suggestions.

With one exception ("if the public guarded their property more carefully") the youngest age group were less inclined than others to think that any of the suggestions would make a lot of difference.

Analysis by education of informant (see Table 98) shows that a greater proportion of informants in the lower than higher education group thought that it would make a lot of difference if there was less publicity about crime, and if less temptation was put in people's way by the shops not displaying their goods so openly. A greater proportion of informants in the higher education group thought that both of these methods would make only some difference.

There were no significant differences in the distribution of opinion between informants in different socio-economic groups on the possible ways of reducing crime, so no analysis by socio-economic group is shown in this report.

Table 96

Some possible ways of reducing crime  
analysed by sex of informant

	Total	Sex	
		Male	Female
Base of %: all informants	1904	933	971
<u>First offenders and petty offenders were kept in separate prisons from hardened criminals</u>	%	%	%
A lot of difference	61	62	60
Some difference	23	22	23
A little difference	8	8	7
No difference	5	5	6
Don't know; not answered	8	3	4
Total	100	100	100
<u>The public guarded their property more carefully</u>			
A lot of difference	57	57	57
Some difference	22	22	22
A little difference	12	12	11
No difference	8	7	9
Don't know; not answered	1	2	1
Total	100	100	100
<u>The police force spent more time on serious crimes and less on petty things</u>			
A lot of difference	54	54	53
Some difference	20	19	20
A little difference	8	8	9
No difference	14	14	13
Don't know; not answered	4	6	5
Total	100	100	100
<u>The police force was made bigger</u>			
A lot of difference	51	52	50
Some difference	27	26	28
A little difference	8	8	8
No difference	12	12	12
Don't know; not answered	2	2	2
Total	100	100	100
<u>There was less about crime on TV, and in films papers and books</u>			
A lot of difference	44	36	52
Some difference	19	21	18
A little difference	14	18	11
No difference	20	23	17
Don't know; not answered	3	2	2
Total	100	100	100
<u>The police force improved their method of catching people who had broken the law</u>			
A lot of difference	42	45	40
Some difference	30	29	30
A little difference	11	10	13
No difference	11	11	10
Don't know; not answered	6	5	7
Total	100	100	100
<u>The shops did not display their goods so openly</u>			
A lot of difference	30	26	34
Some difference	24	23	25
A little difference	18	21	14
No difference	26	27	24
Don't know; not answered	2	3	3
Total	100	100	100

Table 97

Some possible ways of reducing crime  
analysed by age of informant

	Total	Age			
		21-30	31-40	41-50	over 50
Base of %: all informants	1904	317	417	454	712
<u>First offenders and petty offenders were kept in separate prisons from hardened criminals</u>	%	%	%	%	%
A lot of difference	61	55	62	64	61
Some difference	23	26	24	21	22
A little difference	8	9	9	7	6
No difference	5	8	4	6	5
Don't know; not answered	8	2	1	2	6
Total	100	100	100	100	100
<u>The public guarded their property more carefully</u>					
A lot of difference	57	62	58	53	57
Some difference	22	18	23	23	22
A little difference	12	13	11	13	10
No difference	8	7	7	10	9
Don't know; not answered	1	-	1	1	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100
<u>The police force spent more time on serious crimes and less on petty things</u>					
A lot of difference	54	49	52	54	57
Some difference	20	19	21	22	18
A little difference	8	14	9	6	7
No difference	14	17	14	13	13
Don't know; not answered	4	1	4	5	5
Total	100	100	100	100	100
<u>The police force was made bigger</u>					
A lot of difference	51	44	51	53	54
Some difference	27	31	28	25	25
A little difference	8	10	9	7	7
No difference	12	14	12	12	10
Don't know; not answered	2	1	-	3	4
Total	100	100	100	100	100
<u>There was less about crime on TV, and in films, papers and books</u>					
A lot of difference	44	30	38	43	55
Some difference	19	23	22	17	18
A little difference	14	20	17	13	11
No difference	20	25	21	23	14
Don't know; not answered	3	2	2	4	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100
<u>The police force improved their method of catching people who had broken the law</u>					
A lot of difference	42	39	47	43	40
Some difference	30	34	30	28	28
A little difference	11	14	12	11	10
No difference	11	11	7	10	12
Don't know; not answered	6	2	4	8	10
Total	100	100	100	100	100
<u>The shops do not display their goods so openly</u>					
A lot of difference	30	23	29	28	35
Some difference	24	25	25	26	22
A little difference	18	25	18	16	15
No difference	26	25	25	28	25
Don't know; not answered	2	2	3	2	3
Total	100	100	100	100	100

Table 98

Some possible ways of reducing crime  
analysed by education of informant

	Total	Education	
		Higher	Lower
Base of %: all informants	1904	409	1489
<u>First offenders and petty offenders were kept in separate prisons from hardened criminals</u>	%	%	%
A lot of difference	61	61	61
Some difference	23	24	23
A little difference	8	8	7
No difference	5	5	6
Don't know; not answered	8	2	3
Total	100	100	100
<u>The public guarded their property more carefully</u>			
A lot of difference	57	56	57
Some difference	22	26	21
A little difference	12	10	12
No difference	8	8	8
Don't know; not answered	1	-	2
Total	100	100	100
<u>The police force spent more time on serious crimes and less on petty things</u>			
A lot of difference	54	51	55
Some difference	20	22	19
A little difference	8	10	8
No difference	14	13	14
Don't know; not answered	4	4	4
Total	100	100	100
<u>The police force was made bigger</u>			
A lot of difference	51	51	52
Some difference	27	31	26
A little difference	8	8	8
No difference	12	7	13
Don't know; not answered	2	3	1
Total	100	100	100
<u>There was less about crime on TV, and in films, papers and books</u>			
A lot of difference	44	38	46
Some difference	19	24	18
A little difference	14	16	14
No difference	20	19	20
Don't know; not answered	3	3	2
Total	100	100	100
<u>The police force improved their method of catching people who had broken the law</u>			
A lot of difference	42	41	43
Some difference	30	33	28
A little difference	11	13	11
No difference	11	8	11
Don't know; not answered	6	5	7
Total	100	100	100
<u>The shops did not display their goods so openly</u>			
A lot of difference	30	25	31
Some difference	24	28	23
A little difference	18	20	17
No difference	26	25	26
Don't know; not answered	2	2	3
Total	100	100	100

## F. THE CAUSES OF CRIMES (Derives from Section A of Schedule)

### F.1 Introduction

This and the next two chapters attempt to establish some aspects of the generalised picture which people hold of "the criminal". For the most part the results are based on informants responses to statements read out to them by the interviewer. These statements, in turn, derive to a great extent directly from pilot work, some of them being a direct transcription of statements made in free interviews, suitably modified to avoid ambiguity and multi-dimensionality. Some other statements have been added which, though rarely raised spontaneously in free interviews have been publicised in various ways as possible explanations of the increase in crime.

### F.2 Causes of Crime

Table 99 shows the statements read to informants, and the proportions saying that each statement represented, respectively, one of the causes and one of the main causes, of crime. It will be seen that the order in which the statements were presented bears no apparent relationship at all to the frequency or infrequency with which they were endorsed.

As Table 99 shows, statements about getting something for nothing, getting rich quick, seeing other people getting away with breaking the law, and the decline of parental authority were the most frequently endorsed of those presented. More than three-quarters of all informants thought that each of these statements described one of the causes of crime, and at least 4 out of 10 thought that each of them described one of the main causes.

Although the decline of parental authority was endorsed by a high proportion (80%) as being one of the causes of crime, the decline of other traditional forms of authority, the school and religion, were endorsed much less frequently.

Fifty-two per cent thought that one of the causes of crime was "that school teachers don't have enough authority over children to-day," but less than a half of these (22%) thought that this was one of the main causes.

Forty-four per cent thought that one of the causes was "that people are less religious than they used to be," but only just over a third of these (16%) thought that this was one of the main causes.

Two other statements were frequently endorsed as describing causes of crime. One of these statements was that "people are persuaded to buy things they don't really need and can't really afford" (endorsed by 67% as one of the causes of crime.) However, less than a third of these (20%) thought that this was one of the main causes. The other statement was that "there are many people working in boring jobs who can't find enough to do in their spare time." A half of all informants thought that this was one of the causes of crime, but only about a third of these (16%) thought it was one of the main causes.

Endorsed least frequently were statements about the effect of war, both as an excuse for violence in everyday life, and the fear of war etc leading to a decline in standards of behaviour.

It is possible to summarise the content of the statements shown in Table 99 under a number of headings such as "the decline of traditional forms of authority (parental, religious, school);" "the 'get rich quick' aspect of the acquisitive society;" and "the demoralising effect of war and the threat of war."

Table 99  
Causes of Crime

Q.1a "I want to mention to you some of the things that people say cause crime in this country today".

Some people say that (one) (another) cause of crime is that .... (USE LIST BELOW)

Do you think this is one of the causes of crime? (Code in Column a)

If "Yes"

b. Do you think it is one of the main causes, or not? (Code in Column b)

		One of the Causes	One of the <u>Main</u> Causes
Base of %: all informants		1900	1900
		%	%
D	People nowadays feel they can get something for nothing and not have to work hard for it	83	42
H	There is so much emphasis today on getting rich quick that people feel money is the most important thing	82	49
A	Parents do not have enough authority over children today	80	40
I	So many people get away with breaking the law that the rest feel it is not so bad to break it	77	43
B	People are persuaded to buy things they don't really need and can't really afford	67	20
J	School teachers don't have enough authority over children today	52	22
F	There are many people working in boring jobs who can't find enough to do in their spare time	50	16
E	People are less religious than they used to be	44	16
G	Countries fight wars, so people think violence can be excused in everyday life	25	7
C	The fear of war and uncertainty about the future lowers people's standards of behaviour	21	5

Note: The letters preceding the statements denote the order in which they were read to informants. All questions about each "cause" were answered before the subsequent "cause" was mentioned.

In order to test the hypothesis that public opinion in general tends to crystallize around any or all of these theories, scores representing informants' endorsement or non-endorsement of each statement as representing a main cause of crime were intercorrelated. The resulting matrix of correlations was then subjected to a simple cluster analysis in order to see whether the statements could be shown to fall into groups or clusters representing particular theories.

Finding clusters would indicate that a significant proportion of informants thought that the statements in a cluster contributed to a particular theory on the causes of crime. On the other hand, not finding clusters would show that, however deeply informants felt about the subject matter, they had no general or consistent theories about the causes of crime, but only a set of unrelated reactions.

The cluster analysis showed that the true situation is somewhere between the two extremes, although nearer to the 'unrelated reactions' than to the 'systematic theory' alternative. All the statements intercorrelated positively. However, the level of correlation between most statements was very low. This may represent a tendency for people who lack any systematic way of accounting for the causes of crime, but who nevertheless feel strongly about the subject, to endorse indiscriminately any positive suggestion which is presented to them, if it seems superficially reasonable.

However, although the replies of informants did not follow any very systematic pattern, it was possible to discern some clusters, although very faintly. These represented the "decline of traditional forms of authority" theory and the "get rich quick" theory outlined above. The remaining statements fell into a further ill defined cluster which brought together statements attributing crime to the demoralising effect of war, the effect of people being persuaded to buy things which they don't need and can't afford, and working in boring jobs with a lack of creative leisure.

Analysis by sex showed the opinion of men and women on the causes of crime in this country to-day were very similarly distributed and where differences did occur, they were on the whole, only marginal.

The only marked exception was the statement "people are persuaded to buy things they don't really need and can't afford" - appreciably more often endorsed by women (24%) than by men (17%) as being one of the main causes of crime. The difference is not surprising in view of women's role as shoppers. No Table has been given in view of the marginal differences between the sexes in their responses to all other statements. Slightly more women than men (M 12%; F 18%) thought that the main causes of crime included the effect of people working in boring jobs with a lack of creative leisure, and being persuaded to buy things which they don't need and can't afford.

Opinion differed between younger and older informants on whether crime can be attributed to the decline of the traditional forms of authority (parental, the school and religion) (see Table 100).

Informants under 41 years old were in close agreement on whether the decline of parental authority and authority in the school were the main causes of crime. However, both these statements were endorsed by increasing proportions among the two older age groups. In particular, a much higher proportion of informants over 50 years old than others thought that one of the main causes was that "parents do not have enough authority over their children to-day" (50% of those over 50 compared with about one third in each group under 50 endorsed this statement).

The decline of religion as one of the main causes of crime was endorsed by only 7% of those under 31 years old compared with two to three times as many older people - the proportion varied with age from 13-14% in the age groups 31-40 and 41-50, and again to 23% among the over-50's.

Table 101 shows that there was a general tendency for the lower compared with the higher socio-economic groups to think that more of the statements described main causes of crime in this country today.

In particular, a higher proportion of the lower than higher socio-economic groups thought that the main causes of crime included the various aspects of the acquisitive society (getting something for nothing, getting rich quick, seeing other people getting away with breaking the law, and the effect of people being persuaded to buy things which they don't need and can't afford) and also to the decline of parental authority.

There was only one statement which a greater proportion of any of the higher than of the lower socio-economic groups thought described one of the main causes of crime. This was the decline of religion, which more of the higher managerial and professional group (S.E.G.1) than any other socio-economic group thought described one of the main causes.

Table 102 shows that when the causes of crime were analysed by education, similar tendencies were found as in the analyses by socio-economic group, for informants in the lower compared with the higher education group to think that more of the statements described main causes of crime.

The greatest differences found between the responses of those in the lower and higher education groups were also similar to the differences in the answers of those in the lower and higher socio-groups. A higher proportion of informants in the lower than higher education group thought that the main causes of crime included various aspects of the acquisitive society, and the decline of parental authority.

The next Table 100 is an analysis of the results according to the informants age:-

Table 100

Causes of crime analysed by age of informant

	One of the Causes					One of the <u>Main</u> Causes				
	Total	Age				Total	Age			
		21-30	31-40	41-50	Over 50		21-30	31-40	41-50	Over 50
Base of %: all informants	1900	313	409	438	736	1900	313	409	438	736
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
D People nowadays feel they can get something for nothing and not have to work hard for it	83	74	83	82	86	42	40	36	42	47
H There is so much emphasis today on getting rich quick that people feel money is the most important thing	82	85	80	78	83	49	48	44	45	54
A Parents do not have enough authority over children today	80	74	75	82	85	40	32	31	35	50
I So many people get away with breaking the law that the rest feel it is not so bad to break it	77	78	78	74	79	43	46	41	40	44
B People are persuaded to buy things they don't really need and can't really afford	67	63	66	67	69	20	19	14	20	25
J School teachers don't have enough authority over children today	52	41	46	51	59	22	16	17	20	27
F There are many people working in boring jobs who can't find enough to do in their spare time	50	51	47	49	53	16	17	14	15	16
E People are less religious than they used to be	44	33	39	42	53	16	7	13	14	23
G Countries fight wars, so people think violence can be excused in everyday life	25	18	25	22	29	7	4	7	6	9
C The fear of war and uncertainty about the future lowers people's standard of behaviour	21	15	20	21	23	5	4	4	3	6

Table 101 analyses the results in relation to the socio-economic status of the informants:

Table 101

Causes of crime analysed by socio-economic status of informants

		One of the Causes						One of the <u>Main</u> Causes					
		Total	S.E.G.					Total	S.E.G.				
			1	2	3	4	5		1	2	3	4	5
Base of %: all informants		1900	91	151	452	387	321	1900	91	151	452	387	321
D	People nowadays feel they can get something for nothing and not have to work hard for it	% 83	% 76	% 85	% 84	% 82	% 81	% 42	% 35	% 40	% 42	% 44	% 46
H	There is so much emphasis today on getting rich quick that people feel money is the most important thing	82	89	82	82	81	82	49	44	46	49	52	52
A	Parents do not have enough authority over children today	80	84	80	79	76	79	40	34	35	38	38	40
I	So many people get away with breaking the law that the rest feel it is not so bad to break it	77	82	82	79	76	77	43	35	40	41	43	49
B	People are persuaded to buy things they don't really need and can't really afford	67	70	64	67	62	71	20	10	17	19	17	27
J	School teachers don't have enough authority over children today	52	59	55	51	54	50	22	20	24	20	22	23
F	There are many people working in boring jobs who can't find enough to do in their spare time	50	59	48	55	43	43	16	16	11	15	12	16
E	People are less religious than they used to be	44	48	46	46	38	41	16	22	15	16	14	16
G	Countries fight wars, so people think violence can be excused in everyday life	25	18	25	25	22	29	7	4	4	5	7	10
C	The fear of war and uncertainty about the future lowers people's standard of behaviour	21	22	22	17	20	22	5	2	3	4	5	5

Table 102 is an analyses by level of education:-

Table 102

Causes of crime analysed by education of informant

		One of the Causes			One of the <u>Main</u> Causes		
		Education			Education		
		Total	Higher	Lower	Total	Higher	Lower
Base of %: all informants		1900	390	1507	1900	390	1507
D	People nowadays feel they can get something for nothing and not have to work hard for it	% 83	% 79	% 84	% 42	% 36	% 44
H	There is so much emphasis today on getting rich quick that people feel money is the most important thing	82	83	81	49	43	51
A	Parents do not have enough authority over children today	80	82	80	40	36	40
I	So many people get away with breaking the law that the rest feel it is not so bad to break it	77	75	78	43	35	45
B	People are persuaded to buy things they don't really need and can't really afford	67	63	68	20	13	22
J	School teachers don't have enough authority over children today	52	49	52	22	20	22
F	There are many people working in boring jobs who can't find enough to do in their spare time	50	56	49	16	18	15
E	People are less religious than they used to be	44	46	44	16	17	16
G	Countries fight wars, so people think violence can be excused in everyday life	25	20	26	7	5	7
C	The fear of war and uncertainty about the future lowers people's standards of behaviour	21	17	21	5	3	5

## G. CHARACTERISTICS OF HABITUAL OFFENDERS AND MEANS OF REDUCING THEIR NUMBERS

(Derives principally from Sections H, L, M of schedule)

### G.1 Introduction

This chapter deals first with peoples' "stereotype" of the habitual offender, both in terms of the reasons why they turn to a life of crime and in terms of their personal characteristics and habits. The fifteen statements about personal characteristics derive partly from items raised in free interviews, partly from professional theory and knowledge.

The second main part of the chapter deals with suggested means of reducing the numbers of habitual offenders, and is similarly derived.

### G.2 Characteristics of habitual offenders

This section of the interview was introduced to informants as follows: "Now can we go on to talk about habitual offenders - that is men who keep on breaking the law and being punished more than once. People have different ideas about what habitual offenders are like".<sup>(1)</sup>

Informants were then questioned about fifteen characteristics separately, the questions taking the following form. First they were asked: "Some think that (read out characteristic). Do you think this is true of any habitual offenders?" Those who said it was true of any were then asked: "Do you think it is true of nearly all; or more than half; or less than half; or very few? The results are shown in Table 103.

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(1) It will be noted that no specific mention is made of prison, either in the questions or in the suggested characteristics in this section. The following section deals with means of reducing the number of habitual prisoners. It was necessary either to be specific in this section, or to introduce separate questions referring to different types of penalty, a very elaborate and time-consuming procedure which could not possibly have carried through in so wide-ranging an interview.

Table 103

## Characteristics of Habitual Offenders

Scale Point _____	Any	Description is true of -					Total	Base of %: all informants
		Nearly all	More than half	Less than half	Very few	None		
						DK; NA		
		1	2	3	4	5		
* H. They just give no thought to the harm they do	% 90	39	29	14	8	9	1	100
		68		22				
E. They are too lazy to do an honest day's work	% 87	31	31	18	7	12	1	100
		62		25				
D. They make their living out of crime	% 85	23	31	21	10	13	2	100
		54		31				
J. They are too easily led	% 85	15	31	25	14	13	2	100
		46		39				
N. They have family difficulties or no settled home	% 82	11	29	27	15	16	2	100
		40		42				
I. They turn to crime because they get themselves into debt	% 74	6	20	28	20	24	2	100
		26		48				
M. They can't fit into every day life	% 73	18	23	18	14	25	2	100
		41		32				
L. They easily lose control of themselves	% 72	13	24	21	14	26	2	100
		37		35				
B. They do things for the excitement of it - for kicks	% 71	13	26	20	12	27	2	100
		39		32				
O. They turn to crime because they feel they must rebel against something	% 71	9	17	23	22	27	2	100
		26		45				
G. They feel they were never given a proper chance in life	% 69	9	19	22	19	29	2	100
		28		41				
C. Their parents did not bring them up to know right from wrong	% 65	13	21	20	11	33	2	100
		34		31				
A. They live among criminals	% 62	18	27	12	5	35	3	100
		45		17				
F. They are mentally unbalanced	% 62	5	11	20	26	36	2	100
		16		46				
K. They are unintelligent	% 53	6	13	18	16	45	2	100
		19		34				

\* Prefix letters indicate the order in which the items were presented to informants.

Table 103 is arranged in order of the frequency with which each characteristic was attributed to any habitual offenders. The distribution of opinion on the prevalence of each characteristic is shown by a five point scale. In subsequent discussion of this table, reference is also made to the following grouped categories: "the majority" (scale points 1 + 2); "the minority" (scale points 3 + 4); and "very few or none" (scale points 4 + 5).

The majority of informants said of each description that it applied to at least some habitual offenders. However, nine of the descriptions were said by 25% or more (25-45%) not to be true of any habitual offenders. Only two descriptions were said by 25% or more (31-39%) to apply to "nearly all".

No description was knowingly listed which does not, in fact, apply to at least some habitual offenders. At first sight it is, therefore, a little surprising to find that so many of the descriptions were said by so many of the sample to characterise no such offenders at all. It will be noticed, however, that in all cases but one the proportion saying that a given description applied to "very few" was smaller than that saying it applied to "none". It seems probable that, in the interview situation, when a characteristic was mentioned which did not easily fit in with an informant's preconceptions, he tended to dismiss it altogether rather than go through the more complicated process of thinking whether or not it might apply to a small minority.

.. .. .

Opinion about the applicability of all of the descriptions was very widely dispersed, but five items showed a conspicuously greater consensus of opinion than the others:-

- i. Three descriptions were thought by the majority of informants to be true of the majority of habitual offenders. These were also the only descriptions thought to be true of nearly all such offenders by more than 18%, and of very few or none by less than 25%. They were:-

- H. They just give no thought to the harm they do.
- E. They are too lazy to do an honest day's work.
- D. They make their living out of crime.

Each of these descriptions singly was said by between 54% (D) and 68% (H) to be true of the majority of habitual offenders. Further analysis showed that 31% thought all three descriptions applied to the majority.

- ii. Two descriptions were thought to be true of very few habitual offenders or of none of them by the majority of informants. They were:-

- F. They are mentally unbalanced.
- K. They are unintelligent.

Each of these descriptions was held to be true of very few or none by about 6 out of 10 informants. Further analysis showed that 44% thought both descriptions applied to very few or none.

The statement that they are unintelligent was substantially more often thought to be untrue of any habitual offenders than was any other statement (by 45%).

Thus the characteristics most commonly attributed to habitual offenders are that they are thoughtless of others, lazy, or make their living out of crime, and that they are rarely or never unintelligent or mentally unbalanced.

.. .. .

The distribution of opinion about the prevalence of the remaining characteristics reflects marked differences of opinion, with variable but usually substantial proportions holding directly opposed views.

First, let us consider those characteristics not already discussed which were most often held to be true of the majority. These are given in List A.

## List A (see text above)

Descriptions selected on basis described above		Description is true of:-			
		The majority (1+2)	The minority (3+4)	None (5)	Very few or none (4+5)
J. They are too easily led	%	46	39	13	27
A. They live among criminals	%	45	17	35	40
M. They can't fit into everyday life	%	41	32	25	39
N. They have family difficulties or no settled home	%	40	42	16	31

Note: Percentages in the first three columns add to slightly less than 100% because of the omission of 2-3% who could not answer the question.

J. They are too easily led. Of the four characteristics listed above, this was the one most often believed to be true of at least some habitual offenders, and, marginally, the one most often accepted as true of the majority.

A. They live among criminals. Eighty per cent thought of this either as a characteristic of the majority (45%) or of none (35%). The relatively small number (17%) who thought of it as a minority characteristic included 5% who thought it was true of only very few.

This bipolar distribution of opinion was not found to anything approaching the same degree in relation to any other characteristic. The explanation is not clear, but it is noteworthy that the question is concerned with two distinct concepts - the nature of the criminal subculture and the nature of the habitual offender. Given that most people accept that some offenders live among other offenders, it is possible that ideas tend to cluster round two concepts: i) the habitual offender, seen as a professional criminal, who stands aloof from an "underworld" seen as consisting of minor offenders, and ii) the habitual offender seen as part of a subculture of people with similar continuing interests. This is, of course, an unsupported hypothesis, and is intended simply to illustrate one way in which this unusual distribution of opinion might have arisen.

M. They can't fit in to everyday life. About three-quarters thought that this trait characterised at least some habitual offenders, those who said that it applied to a majority considerably outweighing those who said it applied only to a minority. There was a rather marked tendency for those who thought it applied to a minority to think it was true of only very few habitual offenders. The outcome was again that about equal proportions thought of this trait as characterising a majority, and very few or none. But difficulty in fitting into everyday life was considerably more often accepted as a characteristic of some habitual offenders than was the idea that they live among criminals.

N. They have family difficulties or no settled home. The 82% who said this was a characteristic of any habitual offenders were about equally divided between those who thought it true of the majority, and of the minority. Comparatively few (16%) said that no habitual offenders were victims of these problems.

In Summary: Four items were selected because each showed a high proportion (40 to 46%) saying that the description was true of the majority of habitual offenders. A high incidence of this generalised belief was not found to be predictive of the overall distribution of opinion. The ideas that "they live among criminals" and that "they can't fit into everyday life" were thought to be inapplicable, or applicable only in very few cases, almost as frequently as they were thought to apply to the majority of habitual offenders.

On the other hand, the descriptions "they are too easily led" and "they have family difficulties or no settled home" were less often rejected or thought to be applicable to very few. There was no marked consensus of opinion, but it may be said that the two latter descriptions were considerably more often believed to be true of at least a substantial minority\* than were the two former ones.

.. .. .

We next consider those descriptions which were said by over 40% to apply to very few or to no habitual offenders (List B)

List B (see text above)

Descriptions selected on basis described above	Description is true of:-			
	The majority (1+2)	The minority (3+4)	None (5)	Very few or none (4+5)
Q. They turn to crime because they feel they must rebel against something %	26	45	27	49
G. They feel they were never given a proper chance in life %	28	41	29	48
C. Their parents did not bring them up to know right from wrong %	34	31	33	44
I. They turn to crime because they get themselves into debt %	26	48	24	44

Note: Percentages in the first three columns add to slightly less than 100% because of the omission of 2-3% who could not answer the question.

The proportion saying that each description was true of no habitual offenders at all was, in each case, nearly identical with the proportion saying it was true of the majority: and the sum of these two groups ranges between half and two thirds of the whole sample.

Again the implications of these results are obscure, but it may be hazarded that features common to the four characteristics contributes to the similarity of the distributions. Each item can be taken as something in the past or early life of the offender which might be considered by some as a reason and by others as an excuse for embarking on a career of crime. It may be that two equally strong bodies of opinion tend to reject the excuse ("this might lead to crime, but not directly to habitual crime") and to accept the reason ("this turns people into habitual offenders").

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\* By "at least a substantial minority" is meant the sum of scale-points 1, 2 and 3.

In summary: Four items were selected because each showed a high proportion (over 40%) saying that the description was true of very few or of no habitual offenders. In each case approximately equal proportions considered the statement true of the majority of habitual offenders, and of none. These two groups together made up between half and two-thirds of the whole sample. It is suggested that this marked division of opinion between two extremes may result from the acceptance or rejection of these characteristics as true "causes" of habitual crime, or as "excuses" for it.

.. .. .

Two descriptions remain: "They do things for the excitement of it - for kicks" and "They easily lose control of themselves" (List C)

List C (see text above)

Descriptions selected on basis described above	Description is true of:-			
	The majority (1+2)	The minority (3+4)	None (5)	Very few or none (4+5)
B. They do things for the excitement of it - for kicks %	39	32	27	39
L. They easily lose control of themselves %	37	35	26	40

Note: Percentages in the first three columns add to slightly less than 100% because of the omission of 2% who could not answer the question.

In each case, approximately equal proportions said the statement was true of the majority, and that it was true of very few or none. More than three-quarters of the sample held one or other of these views. Since both descriptions indicate a lack of self-control, it is possible that the sharp division of opinion about these two characteristics may be the outcome of two opposed views about the way crimes are conceived by habitual offenders. Some may see the habitual offender as usually a person who plans his crimes in "cold blood", while others see him as usually someone who acts on the impulse of the moment.

.. .. .

Analysis of the questions in this and the next section of this chapter by the demographic variables showed that there was a general tendency for differences of opinion among sub-groups of the population to occur between those who thought that a characteristic was true of "nearly all" or "more than half" of all habitual offenders and those who thought it was true of "less than half" or "very few". To simplify the analyses by demographic variables without disguising any of the differences, the "nearly all (1)" and "more than half (2)" points on the scale have been combined and called "the majority (1+2)". The "less than half (3)" and "very few (4)" points on the scale have been combined and called "the minority (3+4)". Point (5); "None", is retained as in Table 103.

Table 104 shows the characteristics of habitual offenders analysed by the sex and by the age of informant. Table 105 shows the characteristics analysed by the socio-economic status and by the level of education of informant.

Differences of opinion among sub-groups of the population are commented on below for each characteristic separately.

The items are arranged in the order of frequency with which the sample as a whole said they were characteristic of the majority.

H. They just give no thought to the harm they do. No appreciable or systematic differences inbetween any of the demographic groups.

E. They are too lazy to do an honest day's work. The youngest age group (21-30) thought less often than others that this was true of the majority of habitual offenders (55% compared with 62-65% of those over 30).

It was more often thought to be true of the majority by the unskilled manual workers - S.E.G.5 (69%) than those in any other socio-economic group (52-62%); and by the less well educated (64%) than the better educated (53%).

The better educated and those other than the unskilled manual workers were less inclined than others to think that this was a characteristic of any habitual offenders.

D. They make their living out of crime. The youngest age group (21-30) were slightly less likely than those in any other age group to say this was true of the majority (50% compared with 53-56%).

The managerial and professional groups (S.E.G. 1 and 2) less often (46-48%) thought that this was true of the majority than those in the three lower socio-economic groups (54-57%).

J. They are too easily led. This was slightly more often held to be true of the majority by women (48%) than by men (42%).

A. They live among criminals. This was considerably more often thought to be true of the majority by men (51%) than by women (40%). Women were more inclined to think that this description did not apply to any habitual offenders (40% compared with 30%).

Unskilled manual workers (S.E.G.5) less often than others thought that this was a characteristic of the majority (41% compared with 47-55% in the higher socio-economic groups).

M. They can't fit into everyday life. A greater proportion of those under than over 40 thought that this was true of the majority (31-32% compared with 41-45%).

Those in the lower education group were more inclined than the rest to think that this did not apply to any habitual offenders.

N. They have family difficulties or no settled home. No major differences.

B. They do things for the excitement of it - for kicks. A much higher proportion of women (47%) than of men (29%) thought that this was true of the majority.

More of the youngest age group (21-30) than others thought that this described the majority (45% compared with 33-39% of those over 30).

The proportion who thought that this was true of the majority increased systematically by socio-economic group from 24% of S.E.G.1 to 46% of S.E.G.5.

A substantially greater proportion of those in the lower (42%) than higher (24%) education group thought that this was true of the majority.

Those over 30 and the better educated less often than others thought that this description was true of any habitual offenders.

L. They easily lose control of themselves. No major differences.

C. Their parents did not bring them up to know right from wrong. The older the informant the more likely he was to attribute this characteristic to the majority. The proportions thinking this ranged from 27% of those aged 21-30 to 40% of those aged 51-60, with a steep rise among those over 50.

The higher socio-economic groups were more likely to think that this was true of the majority. The proportion with this opinion declined from 40% of S.E.G.1 to 30% of S.E.G.5.

G. They feel they were never given a proper chance in life. Women were marginally more likely than men to feel that this was true of the majority (30% compared with 25%).

O. They turn to crime because they feel they must rebel against something. More women (30%) than men (21%) thought that this was true of the majority. Men were less inclined to think that it was a characteristic of any habitual offender.

The managerial and professional groups (S.E.G.1 and 2) less often (14-16%) thought that it was true of the majority than those in the lower socio-economic groups (23-28%).

I. They turn to crime because they got themselves into debt. This was felt to be true of the majority by many more women (31%) than men (21%).

K. They are unintelligent. This was more often thought to be true of the majority by the managerial and professional groups - S.E.G.1 and 2 (28-32%) than the lower socio-economic groups (17-18%); and by more of the better educated (25%) than the less well educated (18%).

F. They are mentally unbalanced. Many more of the better educated (26%) than the less well educated (16%) thought that this was true of the majority.

Table 104  
Characteristics of Habitual Offenders Analysed  
by Sex and by Age of Informant

	All	Sex		Age			
		Male	Female	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-69
Base of %: all informants	1900	913	987	313	409	438	736
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
H. <u>Give no thought to the harm they do</u>							
Majority	68	67	69	65	71	70	66
Minority	22	22	22	24	21	20	22
None	9	10	9	10	7	9	10
Don't know; not answered	1	1	-	1	1	1	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
E. <u>Too lazy to do an honest day's work</u>							
Majority	62	60	63	55	64	65	62
Minority	25	25	25	30	26	22	24
None	12	13	10	15	9	13	11
Don't know; not answered	1	2	2	-	1	-	3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
D. <u>Make their living out of crime</u>							
Majority	54	54	54	50	53	56	55
Minority	31	31	31	38	33	28	28
None	13	13	12	10	12	14	13
Don't know; not answered	2	2	3	2	2	2	4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
J. <u>Too easily led</u>							
Majority	46	42	48	45	42	46	46
Minority	39	42	37	40	43	40	36
None	13	15	12	14	13	13	14
Don't know; not answered	2	1	3	1	2	1	4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
A. <u>Live among criminals</u>							
Majority	45	51	40	46	45	45	45
Minority	17	16	16	19	17	17	14
None	35	30	40	33	35	35	36
Don't know; not answered	3	3	4	2	3	3	5
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
M. <u>Can't fit into everyday life</u>							
Majority	41	39	42	31	32	45	41
Minority	32	34	31	38	33	29	32
None	25	24	25	30	24	24	23
Don't know; not answered	2	3	2	1	1	2	4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N. <u>Family difficulties or no settled home</u>							
Majority	40	39	41	39	42	39	40
Minority	42	43	41	46	43	40	41
None	16	16	15	13	14	18	16
Don't know; not answered	2	2	3	2	1	3	3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
B. <u>Do things for excitement/kicks</u>							
Majority	39	29	47	45	33	37	39
Minority	32	36	29	32	41	35	31
None	27	33	22	20	25	26	28
Don't know; not answered	2	2	2	3	1	2	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
L. <u>Easily lose control of themselves</u>							
Majority	37	36	37	33	38	35	37
Minority	35	36	35	36	35	38	34
None	26	25	26	29	24	25	25
Don't know; not answered	2	3	2	2	3	2	4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
C. <u>Not brought up to know right from wrong</u>							
Majority	34	34	34	27	29	31	40
Minority	31	32	29	40	35	30	25
None	33	32	34	33	34	36	32
Don't know; not answered	2	2	3	3	2	3	3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
G. <u>Feel never given a proper chance in life</u>							
Majority	28	25	30	28	30	28	26
Minority	41	41	40	40	42	40	42
None	29	32	26	31	27	30	30
Don't know; not answered	2	2	4	1	1	2	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table 104 continued

	All	Sex		Age			
		Male	Female	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-69
Base of %: all informants	1900	913	987	313	409	438	736
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
<u>O. Feel must rebel against something</u>							
Majority	26	21	30	21	26	27	27
Minority	45	45	45	46	45	47	43
None	27	31	23	33	27	24	26
Don't know; not answered	2	3	2	-	2	2	4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<u>I. Turn to crime because get into debt</u>							
Majority	26	21	31	27	23	23	30
Minority	48	50	46	55	54	47	43
None	24	27	21	18	22	28	25
Don't know; not answered	2	2	2	-	1	2	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<u>K. Unintelligent</u>							
Majority	19	21	17	14	20	19	20
Minority	34	36	32	34	34	31	36
None	45	41	49	50	44	48	42
Don't know; not answered	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<u>F. Mentally unbalanced</u>							
Majority	16	16	16	16	19	14	17
Minority	46	45	46	52	43	47	44
None	36	36	36	30	36	38	36
Don't know; not answered	2	3	2	2	2	1	3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table 105  
Characteristics of Habitual Offenders Analysed by Socio-Economic  
Status and by level of Education of Informant.

	All	S.E.C.					Education	
		1	2	3	4	5	Higher	Lower
Base of %: all informants	1900	91	151	452	387	321	390	1507
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
<u>H. Give no thought to the harm they do</u>								
Majority	68	71	64	68	66	66	67	68
Minority	22	16	23	23	23	26	22	22
None	9	12	9	8	10	8	10	9
Don't know; not answered	1	1	4	1	1	-	1	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<u>E. Too lazy to do an honest day's work</u>								
Majority	62	56	52	61	62	69	53	64
Minority	25	26	30	25	23	23	30	23
None	12	15	15	12	14	7	16	11
Don't know; not answered	1	3	3	2	1	1	1	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<u>D. Make their living out of crime</u>								
Majority	54	46	48	57	54	56	52	55
Minority	31	31	37	29	31	31	31	30
None	13	20	10	13	13	12	14	12
Don't know; not answered	2	3	5	1	2	1	3	3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<u>J. Too easily led</u>								
Majority	46	51	39	46	38	46	45	45
Minority	39	43	42	40	43	39	39	39
None	13	4	15	12	17	15	14	13
Don't know; not answered	2	2	4	2	2	-	2	3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<u>A. Live among criminals</u>								
Majority	45	54	55	47	49	41	46	45
Minority	17	15	15	16	18	19	16	17
None	35	29	25	35	31	36	33	36
Don't know; not answered	3	2	5	2	2	4	5	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<u>M. Can't fit into everyday life</u>								
Majority	41	50	42	44	35	35	45	40
Minority	32	26	36	33	35	35	32	32
None	25	20	17	21	27	27	20	26
Don't know; not answered	2	4	5	2	3	3	3	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<u>N. Family difficulties or no settled home</u>								
Majority	40	44	34	42	40	40	42	40
Minority	42	38	48	44	40	42	43	41
None	16	18	11	13	18	15	12	16
Don't know; not answered	2	-	7	1	2	3	3	3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<u>B. Do things for excitement/kicks</u>								
Majority	39	24	25	34	36	46	24	42
Minority	32	48	40	31	32	28	47	31
None	27	26	32	34	30	24	36	25
Don't know; not answered	2	2	3	1	2	2	3	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<u>L. Easily lose control of themselves</u>								
Majority	37	35	29	39	36	36	34	37
Minority	35	33	43	33	35	40	35	36
None	26	29	24	27	27	22	28	25
Don't know; not answered	2	3	4	1	2	2	3	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<u>C. Not brought up to know right from wrong</u>								
Majority	34	40	36	35	31	30	34	33
Minority	31	29	36	30	33	31	34	30
None	33	29	24	33	34	38	30	34
Don't know; not answered	2	2	4	2	2	1	2	3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table 105 continued

	All	S.E.G.					Education	
		1	2	3	4	5	Higher	Lower
Base of %: all informants	1900	91	151	452	387	321	390	1507
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
G. <u>Feel never given a proper chance in life</u>								
Majority	28	35	26	29	23	24	31	27
Minority	41	42	50	44	39	39	44	39
None	29	23	21	26	36	34	23	31
Don't know; not answered	2	-	3	1	2	3	2	3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
O. <u>Feel must rebel against something</u>								
Majority	26	14	16	26	23	28	28	28
Minority	45	56	52	46	43	43	53	43
None	27	28	28	26	32	25	26	27
Don't know; not answered	2	2	4	2	2	4	3	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
I. <u>Turn to crime because get into debt</u>								
Majority	26	14	20	27	22	31	20	28
Minority	48	54	52	53	50	40	53	47
None	24	31	23	20	26	27	24	24
Don't know; not answered	2	1	5	-	2	2	3	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
K. <u>Unintelligent</u>								
Majority	19	32	28	17	18	18	25	18
Minority	34	22	40	36	38	33	31	35
None	45	43	28	46	44	47	41	46
Don't know; not answered	2	3	4	1	-	2	3	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
F. <u>Mentally unbalanced</u>								
Majority	16	19	16	18	14	18	26	16
Minority	46	47	52	47	47	40	47	45
None	36	29	29	34	36	40	32	37
Don't know; not answered	2	5	3	1	3	2	5	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

### G.3 Reasons for Becoming Habitual Prisoners

To find out why people thought that some men keep on breaking the law after they have been in prison, seven statements were derived (partly from free interviews and partly from professional knowledge or theory) describing reasons for continuing a life of crime after imprisonment.

Informants were asked about each statement "Do you think this is true of any men who keep on breaking the law after they've been in prison?". If they thought that a statement was a true description they were then asked "Do you think this is true of nearly all; or more than half; or less than half; or very few of them?". Their replies are shown in Table 106.

Table 106  
Reasons for Becoming Habitual Prisoners

		Description is true of -					Total	Base of %: all informants
		Any	Nearly all	More than half	Less than half	Very few	None	DK; NA
Scale Point		1	2	3	4	5		
* D. In prison they mix with other criminals and come to accept crime as a way of life	% 86					11	3	100
		23	31	21	11			1888
F. They don't mind being in prison because they get used to it	% 80					18	2	100
		24	22	16	18			1888
C. They just don't think about the risks when they commit a crime	% 76					22	2	100
		26	28	14	8			1888
A. They're made that way: they're the sort of people nothing can stop	% 76					22	2	100
		19	25	20	12			1888
G. They are not accepted by ordinary people when they come out of prison so they turn to crime again	% 76					21	3	100
		16	26	20	14			1888
B. They don't mind going to prison because they make a lot of money out of crime in between prison sentences	% 74					23	3	100
		13	25	21	15			1888
E. They find prison life so tough it changes them for the worse	% 43					54	3	100
		6	10	14	13			1888

\* Prefix letters indicate the order in which the items were presented to informants.

Six of the seven statements were thought to be reasons why at least some offenders continue to break the law after they have been in prison by between 74% and 86% of the sample. The exception was "They find prison life so tough it changes them for the worse". Only 43% thought this applicable to any habitual offenders. Two-thirds thought it applied only to very few or to none.

Two statements were thought by a small majority of informants (54% in each case) to apply to the majority of habitual offenders. These were:-

- D. In prison they mix with other criminals and come to accept crime as a way of life.
- C. They just don't think about the risks when they commit a crime.

Of these two reasons the first was thought to apply to very few by 11% and to none by a further 11%. The second was twice as frequently held to apply to none at all (22%), but only a little less frequently held to apply to very few (8%).

The belief that being in prison leads to the acceptance of crime as a way of life through contact with other prisoners, was thus the most widely accepted of the seven reasons suggested for becoming an habitual offender, and the effects of the toughness of prison life was much the most frequently rejected. (It may, of course, be that some people rejected the latter reason because they did not think prison life was particularly tough, rather than because they thought its toughness degrading.)

The beliefs that contact with other prisoners has a contaminating effect, and that habitual offenders "just don't think about the risks" and "don't mind being in prison because they get used to it" were each thought by about one-quarter to apply to nearly all. The third of these reasons was thought to apply to the majority by 45% of the sample, but was also frequently thought to apply to very few or none (36%).

Opinion was very widely distributed about the extent to which each of the three remaining reasons were applicable, and did not differ markedly between items.

In broad terms the following reasons were rather more frequently attributed to the majority (42-44%) than to very few or none (34-35%).

- A. They're made that way; they're the sort of people nothing can stop.
- G. They are not accepted by ordinary people when they come out of prison, so they turn to crime again.

The remaining reason -

- B. They don't mind going to prison because they make a lot of money out of crime in between prison sentences

was attributed by equal proportions (38%) to the majority, and to very few or none.

In brief there were only two items on which there was a fairly marked consensus of opinion without a very substantial proportion holding opposing views. These were, that mixing with other criminals in prison tends to lead a majority, or at least a substantial minority to accept crime as a way of life; and that the toughness of prison life changes no offenders or very few of them for the worse.

#### Demographic Differences

Tables 107 and 108 show the statements describing some reasons for men becoming habitual offenders analysed by sex and by age of informant; and by socio-economic status and by level of education of informant, respectively.

Differences of opinion among sub-groups of the population are commented on below for each reason separately.

C. They just don't think about the risks when they commit a crime. Women (57%) were slightly more inclined than men (51%) to think that this was true of the majority.

This belief was also much more frequently held among the lower than higher socio-economic groups (the proportions increased from 37% of S.E.G.1 to 60% of S.E.G.5); and among the less well educated (57%) than the better educated (41%).

D. In prison they mix with other criminals and come to accept crime as a way of life. No major differences.

A. They're made that way; they're the sort of people nothing can stop. This was thought to apply to the majority by more women (47%) than men (40%) and by more of the older than younger informants (the proportions ranged from 39% of those aged 21-30 to 47% of those over 50).

Many more of the lower compared with the higher socio-economic groups thought that this description applied to the majority (the proportions ranged from 31% of S.E.G.1 up to 47% of S.E.G.5); and of the less well educated (46%) than others (37%).

F. They don't mind being in prison because they get used to it. Women (44%) were more inclined than men (38%) to think that this was true of the majority.

This belief was also held by more of those over than under 40 than over (45-46% of the older compared with 33-37% of the younger groups); and by rather more of those in the lower (43%) than higher (36%) education group.

The proportion thinking that this description applied to the majority was lowest among the higher managerial and professional group - S.E.G.1 (23%) and highest among the unskilled manual workers - S.E.G.5 (47%). Those in the middle socio-economic groups fell between these extremes and were in fairly close agreement (38-40%).

G. They are not accepted by ordinary people when they come out of prison so they turn to crime again. Women (45%) were marginally more inclined than men (40%) to think that this applied to the majority.

B. They don't mind going to prison because they make a lot of money out of crime in between prison sentences. This was thought to apply to the majority by many more women (43%) than men (33%); by more of those over 40 (40-41%) than under 40 (32-34%); and by more of the less well educated (40%) than the better educated (31%).

The higher managerial and professional group (S.E.G.1) considerably less often than others thought that this described the majority (22% compared with 34-37%).

E. They find prison life so tough it changes them for the worse. This was less frequently thought to be true of the majority by the youngest age group (21-30) than others (9% compared with 16-19% of those over 30).

Table 107  
Reasons for Becoming Habitual Prisoners Analysed  
by Sex and by Age of Informant

	All	Sex		Age			
		Male	Female	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-69
Base of %: all informants	1888	900	988	314	402	448	722
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
<u>C. Just don't think about the risks when they commit a crime</u>							
Majority	54	51	57	50	54	57	54
Minority	22	25	19	24	21	22	22
None	22	23	22	25	24	19	23
Don't know; not answered	2	1	2	1	1	2	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<u>D. In prison mix with other criminals and come to accept crime as a way of life</u>							
Majority	54	54	56	52	54	55	55
Minority	32	34	30	33	34	30	30
None	11	10	11	12	10	13	9
Don't know; not answered	3	2	3	3	2	2	6
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<u>A. Made that way, sort of people nothing can stop</u>							
Majority	44	40	47	39	41	45	47
Minority	32	33	31	32	33	31	31
None	22	24	20	27	24	22	18
Don't know; not answered	2	3	2	2	2	2	4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<u>F. Don't mind being in prison because get used to it</u>							
Majority	42	38	44	33	37	46	45
Minority	38	40	36	42	39	36	37
None	18	19	17	22	23	16	15
Don't know; not answered	2	3	3	3	1	2	3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<u>G. Not accepted by ordinary people when come out of prison so turn to crime again</u>							
Majority	42	40	45	44	41	42	42
Minority	34	35	32	33	35	33	33
None	21	23	20	21	21	22	21
Don't know; not answered	3	2	3	2	3	3	4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<u>B. Don't mind going to prison because make a lot of money out of crime in between prison sentences</u>							
Majority	38	33	43	32	34	40	41
Minority	36	40	34	45	37	36	33
None	23	25	20	21	26	23	21
Don't know; not answered	3	2	3	2	3	1	5
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<u>E. Find prison life so tough it changes them for the worse</u>							
Majority	16	15	16	9	16	19	16
Minority	27	27	25	31	28	24	24
None	54	54	54	56	52	55	54
Don't know; not answered	3	4	5	4	4	2	6
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table 108  
Reasons for Becoming Habitual Prisoners Analysed by  
Socio-economic Status and by Level of Education of Informant

	All	S.E.G.					Education	
		1	2	3	4	5	Higher	Lower
Base of %: all informants	1888	86	167	426	382	377	393	1490
C. <u>Just don't think about the risks when they commit a crime</u>	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Majority	54	37	44	51	55	60	41	57
Minority	22	33	27	23	24	18	30	20
None	22	28	27	25	19	20	28	21
Don't know; not answered	2	2	2	1	2	2	1	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
D. <u>In prison mix with other criminals and come to accept crime as a way of life</u>								
Majority	54	51	51	55	54	54	55	55
Minority	32	35	37	32	32	31	33	32
None	11	13	7	9	12	12	10	11
Don't know; not answered	3	1	5	4	2	3	2	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
A. <u>Made that way: sort of people nothing can stop</u>								
Majority	44	31	34	44	43	47	37	46
Minority	32	48	38	30	34	26	35	31
None	22	19	27	24	22	24	27	21
Don't know; not answered	2	2	1	2	1	3	1	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
F. <u>Don't mind being in prison because get used to it</u>								
Majority	42	23	40	39	38	47	36	43
Minority	38	55	38	41	39	32	42	37
None	18	22	19	18	20	18	21	17
Don't know; not answered	2	-	3	2	3	3	1	3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
G. <u>Not accepted by ordinary people when come out of prison so turn to crime again</u>								
Majority	42	43	41	44	39	41	44	42
Minority	34	44	38	34	36	29	32	34
None	21	9	19	18	23	28	21	22
Don't know; not answered	3	4	2	4	2	2	3	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
B. <u>Don't mind going to prison because make a lot of money out of crime in between prison sentences</u>								
Majority	38	22	34	36	37		31	40
Minority	36	47	37	39	34	37	40	36
None	23	31	26	22	28	16	27	22
Don't know; not answered	3	2	3	3	1	-	2	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
E. <u>Find prison life so tough it changes them for the worse</u>								
Majority	16	14	16	15	14	18	14	16
Minority	27	31	24	28	30	24	26	26
None	54	52	54	53	52	55	56	54
Don't know; not answered	3	3	4	4	4	3	4	4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

#### G.4 Means of Reducing the number of Habitual Prisoners

To find out the ways in which the general public thought the number of habitual prisoners could be reduced, six statements were read in turn to informants, describing suggestions which were spontaneously made at earlier stages of the survey.

In the main survey, informants were asked whether they considered that each of the statements described a method which would induce to-day's habitual prisoners to give up breaking the law. If they thought that a statement did describe such a method, they were then asked "How many habitual prisoners do you think this would stop breaking the law in future - nearly all; or more than half; or less than half; or very few?" Their replies are shown in Table 109.

Table 109  
Means of Reducing the Number of Habitual Prisoners

Habitual prisoners would give up breaking the law if -	The number reduced would be -						DK; NA	Total	Base of %: all informants
	(1-4)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)			
	Some	Nearly all	More than half	Less than half	Very few	None			
* C. They were trained during their prison sentence for a job they wanted to do when they came out	% 87	17	37	23	10	11	2	100	1888
		54		33					
D. They were given more advice and help to prepare them for life outside prison	% 75	14	29	21	11	22	3	100	1888
		43		32					
E. Prison life was made harder (tougher)	% 72	23	28	14	7	24	4	100	1888
		51		21					
A. Prison sentences were longer	% 50	15	19	10	6	47	3	100	1888
		34		16					
F. They were dealt with in a different way instead of being sent to prison	% 37	5	12	10	10	60	3	100	1888
		17		20					
E. Prison life was made more interesting	% 24	5	8	6	5	74	2	100	1888
		13		11					

\* Prefix letters indicate the order in which the items were presented to informants.

Of the six suggested means of reducing the number of habitual offenders, two were accepted by a small majority of informants as likely to affect the majority of offenders favourably, and two were rejected by the majority as likely to affect none.

The two measures thought by the majority of informants (54% (C) and 51% (B)) as likely to affect the majority of offenders favourably were -

C. If prisoners were trained during their prison sentence for a job they wanted to do when they came out.

B. If prison life was made harder (tougher).

Only 11% thought that training for a job while in prison would not stop any habitual offenders from breaking the law in future. Just over twice this number (24%) thought that none would be favourably affected if prison life was made harder, but nearly half the sample fall at the two extremes in their responses to this suggestion - 23% saying nearly all would be affected by a tougher prison life, and 24% that none would be.

It would be tendentious to equate the majority endorsement of the effectiveness on the majority of prisoners of making prison life harder with a punitive attitude, except in a very broad sense indeed. People expressing this opinion are likely to range from those who believe that prison life today is very "cushy", and therefore no deterrent, to those who have more extreme beliefs in the deterrent effect in its own right of a hard prison life.

The two measures rejected by the majority (74% (E) and 60% (F)) as unlikely to stop any habitual offenders from breaking the law in future were:-

E. If prison life were made more interesting.

F. If they (habitual offenders) were dealt with in a different way instead of being sent to prison.

Although there were appreciable minorities (13% (E) and 17% (F)) thinking each of these measures would have a beneficial effect on the majority, including a few (5% in each case) who thought each would stop nearly all habitual offenders from breaking the law again, these two measures were clearly rejected as likely to be, at best, of only very slight value by the great majority (79% (E) and 70% (F)) who said each would stop very few or none.

The idea that longer prison sentences would stop habitual offenders from breaking the law was rejected outright by 47% as unlikely to have this effect on any, and by a further 6% as likely to affect very few. However, as many as 34% thought longer sentences would stop the majority from breaking the law in future, including 15% who thought such sentences would stop nearly all. Although majority opinion does not favour longer sentences as a deterrent, a very substantial proportion do think they would be effective in many cases. It would be tendentious to interpret these results in terms of a widespread belief in harsh punitive measures. Many peoples' opinions are likely to have been affected to some extent by specific reported sentences they have recently heard, and which they think of as either particularly lenient or particularly harsh. There was a marked tendency, discussed later, for the lower socio-economic groups and the less well educated to believe much more often than others in the effectiveness of longer sentences.

Tables 110 and 111 respectively show the statements describing the means of reducing the number of habitual offenders analysed by sex of informant (110); by socio-economic status and by level of education of informant (111).

There were no significant differences in the distribution of opinion between informants in different age groups on the means of reducing the number of habitual offenders, so no analysis by age is shown in this report.

Differences of opinion among other sub-groups of the population are commented on below for each suggested means separately.

C. If they were trained during their prison sentence for a job they wanted to do when they came out. A greater proportion of women (58%) than men (50%) thought that this would affect the majority of habitual offenders favourably.

This view was also held by more of the manual workers than others (54% of S.E.G.4 and 58% of S.E.G.5 compared with 43-49% of the higher socio-economic groups); and by a greater proportion of those in the lower (55%) than higher (49%) education group.

B. If prison life was made harder (tougher). Differences in opinion between the sexes were negligible.

Considerably more of those in the lower than higher socio-economic groups thought that harder prison sentences would have a beneficial affect on the majority (the proportions increased from 32% of S.E.G.1 to 63% of S.E.G.5). This view was also held by many more of the less well educated (55%) than the better educated (39%).

The higher socio-economic groups and the better educated were more inclined to think that this was unlikely to affect any habitual offenders.

D. If they were given more advice and help to prepare them for life outside prison. The view that this would affect the majority favourably was held by slightly more women (45%) than men (40%), and by more of the less well educated (45%) than the better educated (37%).

A. If prison sentences were longer. The proportion thinking that this would have a beneficial affect on the majority of habitual offenders was much greater among the lower than higher socio-economic groups (24% of S.E.G.1 rising to 45% of S.E.G.5); and among the less well educated (37%) than the better educated (24%).

Those in the higher socio-economic groups and the better educated more often thought that this was unlikely to affect any habitual offenders.

F. If they were dealt with in a different way instead of being sent to prison. No major differences.

E. If prison life was made more interesting. No major differences.

Table 110  
Means of Reducing the Number of Habitual Offenders  
Analysed by Sex of Informant

	All	Sex	
		Male	Female
Base of %: all informants	1888	900	988
	%	%	%
<u>C. Trained during prison sentence for a job wanted to do when came out</u>			
Majority	54	50	58
Minority	33	35	31
None	11	13	9
Don't know; not answered	2	2	2
Total	100	100	100
<u>B. Prison life made harder (tougher)</u>			
Majority	51	49	53
Minority	21	22	19
None	24	25	23
Don't know; not answered	4	4	5
Total	100	100	100
<u>D. Given more advice and help to prepare for life outside prison</u>			
Majority	43	40	45
Minority	32	33	32
None	22	24	19
Don't know; not answered	3	3	4
Total	100	100	100
<u>A. Prison sentences longer</u>			
Majority	34	33	36
Minority	16	17	16
None	47	48	45
Don't know; not answered	3	2	3
Total	100	100	100
<u>F. Dealt with in a different way instead of being sent to prison</u>			
Majority	17	13	13
Minority	20	13	10
None	60	71	75
Don't know; not answered	3	3	2
Total	100	100	100
<u>E. Prison life made more interesting</u>			
Majority	13	18	15
Minority	11	20	20
None	74	58	62
Don't know; not answered	2	4	3
Total	100	100	100

**Table 111**  
**Means of Reducing the Number of Habitual Offenders Analysed**  
**by Socio-Economic Status and by Level of Education of Informant**

	All	S.E.G. 1)					Education 1)	
		1	2	3	4	5	Higher	Lower
Base of %: all informants	1888	86	167	426	382	337	393	1490
C. <u>Trained during prison sentence for a job wanted to do when come out</u>	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Majority	54	46	43	49	54	58	49	55
Minority	33	37	42	38	31	27	39	31
None	11	14	13	10	12	13	10	11
Don't know; not answered	2	3	2	3	3	2	2	3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
B. <u>Prison life made harder (tougher)</u>								
Majority	51	32	40	46	53	63	39	55
Minority	21	23	23	24	24	14	24	20
None	24	41	32	27	20	20	34	22
Don't know; not answered	4	4	5	3	3	3	3	3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
D. <u>Given more advice and help to prepare for life outside prison</u>								
Majority	43	41	33	41	43	46	37	45
Minority	32	30	41	35	31	29	39	31
None	22	24	23	22	24	21	22	22
Don't know; not answered	3	5	3	2	2	4	2	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
A. <u>Prison sentences longer</u>								
Majority	34	24	25	30	36	45	24	37
Minority	16	15	15	18	17	14	18	16
None	47	59	58	49	43	38	56	44
Don't know; not answered	3	2	2	3	4	3	2	3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
P. <u>Dealt with in a different way instead of being sent to prison</u>								
Majority	17	20	16	18	17	19	18	17
Minority	20	26	21	24	18	16	24	19
None	60	50	60	55	61	61	54	62
Don't know; not answered	3	4	3	3	4	4	4	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
E. <u>Prison life made more interesting</u>								
Majority	13	12	10	10	13	16	10	14
Minority	11	24	13	13	11	11	14	11
None	74	63	73	76	75	70	75	73
Don't know; not answered	2	1	4	1	1	3	1	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

H. SENTENCING - GENERAL AIMS; SPECIAL CIRCUMSTANCES; AND WAYS OF DEALING  
WITH FIRST OFFENDERS (Derives principally from Section J,K,N, and F of Schedule)

H.1 Introduction

In this chapter public attitudes ranging from the broadest generalisation about the aims of sentencing through to highly particularised considerations which people think should influence the nature or severity of the penalty for otherwise similar offences are considered.

People tend to differentiate more between circumstances, victims and personalities than they do between general aims; and more between "punishment" and the understanding of the victim than they do between general aims and principles.

However, some rather clear-cut and, perhaps, surprising results derive from the various approaches made to the whole subject of sentencing which suggest that many members of the public have some clearcut ideas which do not necessarily derive directly from their knowledge of the processes of sentencing decision as they are likely to read or hear of them through the public media.

Two warnings are necessary as guides to interpreting this data. First, when people are faced with suggestions and asked whether they would agree or disagree with them, their opinion is very likely to be influenced - especially if many of them have in fact no very strong personal feelings about the matter under discussion - by what they believe to be the present state of affairs. A proportion of the order of two-thirds tend to agree with the status quo, if feelings are not strongly developed. Secondly, the greatest caution should be taken in interpreting results in terms of "punitive" tendencies. Numerous responses from these and other sections of the schedule which might be regarded as "punitive" have been cross-correlated, and the correlations between pairs of items have been found to be very low indeed. There is no indication of the widespread existence of a "punitive personality", in this consistent sense. Two explanations are possible. It may be that people tend to respond in a somewhat haphazard way to questions to which they have not given much previous thought. However, it seems more likely that many responses which might be regarded by some as "punitive" are not thought of in this way on the part of the majority of people giving them. For example a policy of containment ("to look after peoples' property or safety by locking criminals away") may appear to some as punitive towards the criminal, but to others merely as protective of society. Even the extreme statement of purpose - "to make criminals suffer for what they have done" may be thought of by some more in a reformatory than in a vindictive or punitive light. The variety of ways in which a given statement may be evaluated by different people should be born in mind in reading this chapter.

## H.2 General purposes of sentencing

### a) Importance of some purposes of sentencing

To find peoples opinion on the importance of some of the aims which lie behind the sentencing of criminals, they were asked "Do you think this is one of the things they should be trying to do?" about each of seven statements describing "purpose of sentencing".

Those who agreed that a particular statement did describe one of the purposes of sentencing, were then asked "Do you think this is very important, or only fairly important?". Their replies are shown in Table 112.

Table 112  
Purpose of Sentencing

	Yes	How important?				Not	D.K.	Total	Base of %: all inform- ants
		Very Imp.	Fairly Imp.	Applic. only in some cases	DK: NA		whether imp. or not		
1) F. To make criminals pay what they can for any loss of property or damage they have caused	%97	79	15	3	*	3	*	100	1888
G. To make criminals pay what they can for the suffering, or loss of earnings, they have caused when they injure people	%96	82	12	2	*	3	1	100	1888
B. To put the criminal himself off committing crimes again	%95	84	9	2	*	4	1	100	1888
E. To reform criminals (make them go straight) by helping them and teaching them how to lead an honest life	%94	77	11	5	1	5	1	100	1888
A. To show other people what would happen to them if they broke the law	%84	58	23	3	*	14	2	100	1888
D. To make criminals suffer for what they have done	%78	51	16	11	*	20	2	100	1888
C. To look after people's property or safety by locking criminals away	%78	42	24	11	1	19	3	100	1888

1) Prefix letters indicate the order in which items were presented to informants.

\* Less than 0.5 per cent.

The statements in Table 112 are arranged in descending order of the frequency with which they were thought to be one of the aims of sentencing.

As Table 112 shows, the proportions saying that each of the suggested purposes should not be one of the aims of sentencing at all ranged between 3% and 20%. There was some tendency, though not a wholly consistent one, for the proportion thinking an aim to be only fairly important, or of relevance only in certain cases, to increase in relation to the proportion thinking the aim should not apply at all - with the result that the number saying without qualification that each aim was "very important" varied widely (between 84% and 42%).

The following four statements were each agreed by the very great majority (94 - 97%) to describe one of the main aims of sentencing. They were considered by only 3 - 5% not to describe a legitimate aim at all, and by 77 - 84% to describe a very important aim.

- B. To put the criminal himself off committing crimes again. (Very important: 84%)
- G. To make criminals pay what they can for the suffering and loss of earnings they have caused when they injure people. (Very important: 82%)
- F. To make criminals pay what they can for any loss of property or damage they have caused. (Very important: 79%)
- E. To reform criminals (make them go straight) by helping them and teaching them how to lead an honest life. (Very important: 77%)

It is not surprising that the first item (which refers in general terms to the effectiveness of the sentence in reforming the criminal, without indicating by what means this effect might be achieved), was the objective most widely accepted as very important. Also included in this cluster of aims most frequently held to be of great importance was the rehabilitation of criminals through help and guidance.

The remaining two items, only marginally less often held to be very important than reform or rehabilitation, both concern monetary compensation to the victim for injury, or for loss or damage to property.

Answers to a later question, discussed on p.185, showed that those informants who said that offenders "should pay what they could for any loss or damage to property they had caused" were more inclined to think that, when practicable, the offender should be put to work himself on repairing the damage, than that he should be made to pay in cash. Had the concept of personally making good any damage done been introduced into the present battery of questions (as well as the idea of paying for it), a still greater proportion might have thought this a very important consideration in determining sentences.

The three remaining aims, though only one (D) appears directly punitive each carry potential punitive overtones. They are:

- A. To show other people what would happen to them if they broke the law (very important - 58%)
- D. To make criminals suffer for what they have done (very important - 51%).
- C. To look after people's property or safety by locking criminals away (very important - 42%).

Each of these three statements was endorsed by appreciably smaller majorities (78%-84%) than were the first four statements (94%-97%) as describing "one of the things they should be trying to do" when deciding sentence. Each was considered by between 14% and 20% not to describe legitimate aims at all (compared with only 3-5% for the first four statements). Each was much less frequently (42%-58%) than any of the first four statements (77%-84%) felt to describe a very important aim of sentencing.

We thus have two groups of statements, one heavily endorsed by the sample as describing a very important consideration in determining the sentence of a criminal, the other much less frequently considered to be very important. Within each group there were only limited differences in the distribution of opinion about different items.

The four items in the first group describe aims of sentencing directed towards the reformation or rehabilitation of the criminal, or to compensation by him of his victim. These aims may be broadly described as treatment-oriented.

The second group of statements refer to general deterrence (exemplary sentencing), retaliation ("make criminals suffer") and preventive containment. These aims may be broadly described as "punitively-oriented".

The punitive overtones of these statements may well contribute to the relatively smaller proportions thinking of them as very important aims in deciding sentences.

However, for reasons indicated in the introduction to this chapter, it would be tendentious to interpret any of these results as a direct indication of the prevalence of purely punitive concepts of the intent of sentencing. Each statement is capable of interpretation in a non-punitive sense.\*

We can conclude no more, at this point, than that those aims which were described directly in terms of the reform of the criminal, or direct recompense by him to his victim were more often thought of as very important aims than were those described in terms of the suffering inflicted on the criminal, or on the general effect of the sentence on persons other than the criminal himself.

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\* eg. The infliction of suffering may be considered merely as an effective deterrent; the publicity given to sentences in general may be implied by "showing other people what would happen to them"; the aim of protection of society by "locking criminals away" is not necessarily inconsistent with positive aims of treatment while in custody.

Differences in the distribution of opinion among sub-groups of the population in Table 113 (Age and Sex) and Table 114 (SEG and Education) are summarised below:-

Age Older persons were more inclined than younger ones to think the following were "very important".

- G. To make criminals pay for suffering or loss of earnings they have caused when they injured people. 74% of those aged 21-30 said this was "very important", the proportion rising to 85% of those aged over 40.
- H. To make criminals pay what they can for any loss of property or damage they have caused. 69% of the youngest age group (21-30) rising to 82% of those over 50, thought this "very important".
- C. To look after people's safety or property by locking criminals away. The over-40's (44-46%) were rather more inclined than the under-40's (37-38%) to think this very important.
- D. To make criminals suffer for what they have done. The over-40's (54-57%) were more inclined than the under-40's (42-43%) to think this very important.

Older people thus tended to be more concerned with compensation for loss or injury than did younger ones. They were also more concerned with locking criminals away to protect people's safety or property, and with making criminals suffer for their crimes.

On the other hand younger people more often than older ones thought rehabilitation was very important. (E. To reform criminals by helping them and teaching them how to lead an honest life. Rated as very important by 84% of those aged 21-30, declining to 74% of those over 50).

#### Sex

- E. To reform criminals by helping them and teaching them how to lead an honest life. Rather more women (80%) than men (74%) thought this aim, of rehabilitation, very important. Other differences in the distribution of opinion between the sexes were negligible.

#### Education

A greater proportion of those in the lower education group than others were inclined to think the following aims are very important.

- G. To make criminals pay for the suffering or loss of earnings they have caused when they injured people. Rated as very important by 83% of the lower education group and 77% of others.
- A. To show other people what would happen if they broke the law 60% of those in the lower education group, and 49% of others said this was very important. The lower education group much less often than the higher said that this should not be an aim of sentencing at all (17% and 30%).
- D. To make people suffer for what they have done. Rated as very important by 53% of those in the lower education group and by 40% of those in the higher group.
- C. To look after people's property or safety by locking criminals away. Rated as very important by 44% of those in the lower education group, and by 37% of those in the higher group.

Those in the lower education group were thus more inclined than those in the higher group to say that each of the three "punitive" items were "very important" than were those in the higher group. On the other hand the aim of rehabilitation was rather more often thought to be very important by those in the higher education group than the lower:

- E. To reform criminals and help them to lead an honest life. Rated as very important by 82% of those in the higher, and 76% of those in the lower education group.

S.E.G.

Those in each of the two lower socio-economic groups (4 and 5) were more inclined than others to rate the following aims as very important:-

- G. To make criminals pay for the suffering or loss of earnings they have caused when they injured people. Rated by 85% in both SEG 4 and 5 as very important, and by between 78% and 80% in each of the other three groups.
- D. To make criminals suffer for what they have done. 54-56% in SEGs 4 and 5; 33-41% in each other group.
- C. To look after people's property or safety by locking criminals away. 45-49% in SEGs 4 and 5; 33-41% in each other group.

Those in SEG 5 were more inclined (66%) than those in any other group (45-59%) to think it a very important aim of sentencing to show other people what would happen if they broke the law.

These trends are similar to those shown in the analysis by education. Those in SEGs 4 and 5 and those in the lower education group tended more often to think the "punitive" aims, and restitution, were very important than did others.

Table 113  
Purpose of sentencing analysed by sex and by age of informant

	Total	Sex		Age			
		Male	Female	21-30	31-40	41-50	Over 50
Base of %: all informants	1888	900	988	314	402	448	722
<u>B. To put the criminal himself off committing crimes again</u>	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Very important	84	84	83	83	88	82	82
Fairly important	9	9	9	8	7	10	10
Applicable only in some cases	2	2	2	3	1	2	2
Should not be an aim of sentencing	4	4	4	4	4	3	4
Don't know; not answered	1	1	2	2	-	3	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<u>G. To make criminals pay for suffering or loss of earnings they have caused when they injured people</u>							
Very important	82	81	83	74	81	85	85
Fairly important	12	12	12	18	13	11	9
Applicable only in some cases	2	3	2	2	4	2	2
Should not be an aim of sentencing	3	3	2	5	2	1	3
Don't know; not answered	1	1	1	1	*	1	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<u>F. To make criminals pay what they can for any loss of property or damage they have caused</u>							
Very important	79	78	79	69	78	81	82
Fairly important	15	15	15	23	17	14	11
Applicable only in some cases	3	3	3	2	2	2	4
Should not be an aim of sentencing	3	3	3	5	2	2	2
Don't know; not answered	*	1	*	1	1	1	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<u>E. To reform criminals by helping them and teaching them how to lead an honest life</u>							
Very important	77	74	80	84	80	75	74
Fairly important	11	12	10	10	12	10	12
Applicable only in some cases	5	6	4	2	3	6	6
Should not be an aim of sentencing	5	7	4	3	4	6	6
Don't know; not answered	2	1	2	1	1	3	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<u>A. To show other people what would happen if they broke the law</u>							
Very important	58	56	59	58	52	55	62
Fairly important	23	23	24	27	26	23	20
Applicable only in some cases	3	2	3	1	4	2	3
Should not be an aim of sentencing	14	16	12	12	17	17	10
Don't know; not answered	2	3	2	2	1	3	5
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<u>D. To make criminals suffer for what they have done</u>							
Very important	51	50	51	42	43	54	57
Fairly important	16	15	18	23	17	14	15
Applicable only in some cases	11	12	10	9	15	9	10
Should not be an aim of sentencing	20	21	18	25	23	21	15
Don't know; not answered	2	2	3	1	2	2	3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<u>C. To look after people's property or safety by locking criminals away</u>							
Very important	42	41	43	37	38	44	46
Fairly important	24	25	24	29	28	25	20
Applicable only in some cases	11	12	10	11	14	8	14
Should not be an aim of sentencing	19	20	18	20	18	19	18
Don't know; not answered	4	2	5	3	2	4	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table 114  
Purpose of sentencing analysed by socio-economic  
status and by level of education of informant

	Total	S.E.C.					Education	
		1	2	3	4	5	Higher	Lower
Base of %: all informants	1888	86	167	426	382	337	393	1490
<u>B. To put the criminal himself off committing crimes again</u>	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Very important	84	78	89	88	84	77	86	83
Fairly important	9	13	5	6	9	12	8	9
Applicable only in some cases	2	5	1	3	1	1	2	2
Should not be an aim of sentencing	4	4	1	2	5	6	3	4
Don't know; Not answered	1	-	4	1	1	4	1	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<u>C. To make criminals pay for suffering or loss of earnings they have caused when they injured people</u>								
Very important	82	80	78	79	85	85	77	83
Fairly important	12	13	17	14	9	9	15	11
Applicable only in some cases	2	4	1	4	2	2	3	2
Should not be an aim of sentencing	3	3	3	3	3	2	4	2
Don't know; Not answered	1	*	1	*	1	2	1	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<u>F. To make criminals pay what they can for any loss of property or damage they have caused</u>								
Very important	79	74	78	78	80	80	76	80
Fairly important	15	19	17	14	14	14	18	14
Applicable only in some cases	3	4	4	4	2	2	3	3
Should not be an aim of sentencing	3	3	1	3	4	2	3	3
Don't know; Not answered	*	*	*	1	*	2	*	*
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<u>E. To reform criminals by helping them and teaching them how to lead an honest life</u>								
Very important	77	72	78	80	74	74	82	76
Fairly important	11	17	11	10	14	9	10	12
Applicable only in some cases	5	7	4	3	4	6	3	5
Should not be an aim of sentencing	5	4	6	6	6	7	4	6
Don't know; Not answered	2	*	1	1	2	4	1	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<u>A. To show other people what would happen if they broke the law</u>								
Very important	58	45	59	53	59	66	49	60
Fairly important	23	28	22	25	22	19	27	22
Applicable only in some cases	3	4	2	4	2	2	3	2
Should not be an aim of sentencing	14	20	16	15	14	11	19	12
Don't know; Not answered	2	3	1	3	3	2	2	4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<u>D. To make criminals suffer for what they have done</u>								
Very important	51	38	42	46	56	54	40	53
Fairly important	16	21	17	16	12	17	17	16
Applicable only in some cases	11	9	14	12	12	9	11	11
Should not be an aim of sentencing	20	31	25	24	19	16	30	17
Don't know; Not answered	2	1	2	2	1	4	2	3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<u>C. To look after people's property or safety by locking criminals away</u>								
Very important	42	33	35	41	45	49	37	44
Fairly important	24	23	25	26	23	23	24	25
Applicable only in some cases	11	19	16	9	12	7	14	10
Should not be an aim of sentencing	19	22	22	21	18	16	21	18
Don't know; Not answered	4	3	2	3	2	5	4	3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

b) The most important purpose of sentencing

All informants were asked - "Which ONE of these do you think is the MOST important thing to think of when deciding on the punishment to give criminals?" Their replies are shown in Table 115.

Table 115

MOST important purpose of sentencing

Base of %: all informants		Total
		1888
		%
E.	To reform criminals (make them go straight) by helping them and teaching them how to lead an honest life	34
G.	To make criminals pay what they can for the suffering, or loss of earnings they have caused when they injure people	23
B.	To put the criminal himself off committing crimes again	13
F.	To make criminals pay what they can for any loss of property or damage they have caused	9
D.	To make criminals suffer for what they have done	9
A.	To show other people what would happen to them if they broke the law	8
C.	To look after people's property or safety by locking criminals away	2

Table 115 shows that the highest proportion (34%) said that the most important of the aims suggested was "to reform criminals (make them go straight) by helping them and teaching them how to lead an honest life". This more specific aim of rehabilitation was much more frequently named as the most important thing to think of when deciding on the punishment to give criminals than was the generalized aim of reform - "to put the criminal himself off committing crimes again" (13%), which leaves unstated the means of achieving reform. One or other of the aims, referring directly to rehabilitation or reform, was considered to be the most important aim by nearly half the sample.

The description second most frequently selected as the most important aim of sentencing was compensation by the criminal for injuries he had inflicted on his victim (23%). Compensation for damage to property was much less frequently selected (9%). But about one-third selected one or other of the items relating to compensation as the most important aim.

Other items were each selected as the most important aim by 9% or less. The infliction of suffering on the criminal, and sentences "to show other people what would happen to them if they broke the law" were each named by 8-9%. Only 2% said that the most important aim should be to protect society by locking criminals away.

The rehabilitation of criminals by help and teaching, and compensation by the criminal of his victim for suffering or injury were together named by more than half the sample (57%) as the most important considerations when determining a sentence. These are both fairly precisely stated aims, directed respectively towards constructive assistance of the criminal by those in authority over him, and of injured victims by the criminal. Compensation for loss of property, together with aims either less specifically described, or carrying no explicit suggestion of help to the prisoner himself were all much less frequently named as the most important aim.

Tables 116 and 117 show the analysis of informants' opinion on what should be the most important purpose of sentencing by their sex and age; and by their socio-economic status and level of education, respectively.

The Tables are confined to items E and G since each of the other items showed only negligible differences when analysed by demographic variables. Differences in the distribution of opinion among the sub-groups of the population were thus mostly either negligible or showed no systematic pattern, except for the following two items:-

E. To reform criminals by helping them and teaching them how to lead an honest life

More women (38%) than men (30%); and more of the younger than older informants (41% of those age 21-30 declining to 30% of those over 50) thought that this should be the most important purpose of sentencing.

This view was also held by rather more of the better educated (42%) than others (32%); and those other than unskilled manual workers (31-39% of S.E.G.1-4 compared with 25% of unskilled manual workers - S.E.G.5).

G. To make criminals pay for suffering or loss of earnings they have caused when they injured people

Men (26%) were marginally more inclined than women (21%) to think that this should be the most important consideration when determining a sentence.

More older than younger informants held this view (17% of those age 21-30 rising to 26% of those over 50).

The less well educated (25%) more often than the better educated (18%; and manual workers - S.E.G. 4 and 5 (28%) more often than non-manual workers - S.E.G.1 - 3 (19-23%) thought that this should be the most important aim.

Table 116

MOST important purpose of sentencing analysed by sex and by age of informant  
(Items E & G only. Other items showed negligible differences)

	Total	Sex		Age			
		Male	Female	21-30	31-40	41-50	Over 50
Base of %: all informants	1888	900	988	314	402	448	722
E. To reform criminals by helping them and teaching them how to lead an honest life	34	30	38	41	38	32	30
G. To make criminals pay for suffering or loss of earnings they have caused when they injured people	23	26	21	17	23	24	26

Table 117

MOST important purpose of sentencing analysed by socio-economic status and by level of education of informant  
(Items E & G only. Other items showed negligible differences)

	Total	S.E.G. <sup>1)</sup>					Education <sup>1)</sup>	
		1	2	3	4	5	Higher	Lower
Base of %: all informants	1888	86	167	426	382	337	393	1490
E. To reform criminals by helping them and teaching them how to lead an honest life	34	38	32	39	31	25	42	32
G. To make criminals pay for suffering or loss of earnings they have caused when they injured people	23	19	23	20	28	28	18	25

### H.3 Should criminals pay in cash or work themselves on repairing damage to property

All informants who thought that one of the purposes of sentencing should be "to make criminals pay what they can for any loss of property or damage they have caused" were asked - "So far as damage to property is concerned, do you think it would be best to make them pay in cash, or, where possible, to put them to work themselves on repairing the damage?"

As Table 118 shows, about a half thought that the criminal should be put to work himself repairing the damage, and just over a third thought that he should pay cash. Others gave qualified or miscellaneous answers, or could not answer the question.

Table 118

Whether criminals should pay in cash or work  
themselves on repairing damage to property  
analysed by sex of informant

	Total	Sex	
		Male	Female
Base of %: Thought criminals should pay for loss or damage	1829	874	955
Work themselves	49	40	57
Pay cash	35	42	28
Pay if have cash, of not work	1	2	1
Work if can, if not pay cash	1	2	1
Both pay cash and work	2	2	2
Other	7	7	8
Don't know; not answered	5	5	3
Total	100	100	100

When the answers to this question were analysed by the demographic variables, the only difference of opinion which emerged was between men and women (Table 118). Women were considerably more inclined than men to think that criminals should work on repairing damage, while men were much more inclined to think they should pay cash rather than work.

#### H.4 Importance of punishing severely or understanding why a man has broken the law

All informants were asked "Do you think that men who have broken the law should be punished severely as an example to others, or that the most important thing is to understand why a man has broken the law and think of the effect the punishment would have on him?".

As Table 119 shows just over two-thirds thought that the most important thing was to understand why a man has broken the law, and think of the effect the punishment would have on him. Less than a quarter thought that he should be punished severely as an example to others.

The results of this question, which presents a straightforward choice between the importance of exemplary sentences on the one hand and understanding the criminal on the other, cannot meaningfully be compared with the distribution of opinion about the importance as an aim of sentencing of "showing other people what would happen to them if they broke the law". The latter statement does not essentially imply the imposition of exemplary or harsh penalties, but can be taken to suggest the effects of the publicity given to "normal" sentences. Moreover the importance of each of the various suggested aims of sentencing was assessed in its own right, and not by comparison with other aims (except to the extent of finding which of seven aims was thought to be the most important).

Table 119  
Relative importance of punishing severely as an example to others and  
of understanding why a man has broken the law, analysed by sex  
and by age of informant

	Total	Sex		Age			
		Male	Female	21-30	31-40	41-50	Over 50
Base of %: all informants	1888	900	988	314	402	448	722
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Understand why a man has broken the law	68	63	72	72	70	67	65
Punish severely as example to others	23	27	19	20	20	24	25
Equally important to punish severely as example to others <u>and</u> understand why a man has broken the law	1	1	1	1	*	1	1
Depends on whether first offence	1	1	1	1	*	2	1
Depends on the person	1	1	2	*	2	1	2
Depends on the crime	4	5	2	2	6	3	3
Other	1	1	1	2	1	*	1
Don't know	1	1	2	2	1	2	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

\* Less than 0.5 per cent.

Men were more inclined than women to think that it was more important that those who have broken the law should be punished severely as an example to others. Women more often thought that it was more important to understand why a man has broken the law (Table 119).

A slightly higher proportion of those over than under 40 thought it more important that criminals should be punished severely whereas those under 40 were slightly more inclined to think that it was of greater importance to understand why a man has broken the law.

There were no differences in the distribution of answers to this question among informants in the various socio-economic and education groups.

#### H.5 Special factors which might be taken into account when sentencing criminals

To find informants' opinion on whether there are any factors which a judge or magistrate should take into consideration before deciding on the length or severity of a sentence, fourteen different pairs of situations were described to them, which might be considered as either aggravating or extenuating circumstances when a decision is made on the appropriate penalty for a crime. These situations fall into three groups -

- (i) Similar types of crime committed by different types of offender.
- (ii) Crimes committed under different circumstances by the same type of offender.
- (iii) Similar types of crime committed against different types of victim.

Informants were asked about offenders involved in each pair of situations "Should both get the same punishment, or should one get more, the other less?"

The purpose of this part of the enquiry was to find the opinions of the general public about those variables in otherwise identical cases which should be considered either as aggravating or as extenuating circumstances, and should therefore lead to particularly severe or to particularly lenient punishment. Considerable difficulty was experienced in the pilot stages in formulating, within the limited scope available in a wide-ranging enquiry, a questioning technique which would achieve this aim. The general tendency was to give twofold answers - "The offender in Case A should receive the greater punishment, and the offender in Case B should receive the lesser" - in those instances in which people thought that the differences described should affect the sentences at all.

This pattern of response gave no indication of whether it was the circumstances of Case A or of Case B which an informant thought should have a positive influence on the sentence.

The question-wording described above was found to have the effect in the majority of cases of evoking single responses, and it is assumed that these answers do, in fact, indicate which of the circumstances described people think should have a positive influence on the sentence.

It would, however, have been a mistake to attempt to eliminate dual responses altogether, since in certain instances it is quite reasonable to think that both of the circumstances described should have a positive influence on the sentence. For example, it is not unreasonable to say both that an offender with previous convictions should be given a specially heavy penalty because of his bad record, and that a person without previous convictions should be given a specially light penalty because of his clean record. In practice, 11% of the sample did give both responses to this question, but the overall distribution of the responses shows that people are much more inclined to think of the presence of previous convictions as an aggravating factor than they are to think of their absence as an extenuating one.

The average proportion giving dual responses was 4% (range 1% - 11%).

In presenting the results two methods of calculation have been used:-

- (i) The three following Tables (120-122) show, respectively, the proportions thinking that the circumstances described should not affect the penalty; those thinking that given circumstances should lead to more punishment; and those thinking that given circumstances should lead to less punishment.

Double responses are included in the figures given in these tables, but the following groups are omitted:-

- a. those not answering directly within the terms of the question (responses to the effect that a different type of penalty, rather than a greater or lesser one would be appropriate: qualified and miscellaneous answers; and "don't know"). These details are given in the later results showing demographic differences, which are calculated in a simplified way. With one exception (whether the offender is mentally unbalanced or not) the sum of these responses never exceeded 7% for any given item.
- b. small deviant groups whose views ran directly contrary to the views of the majority of those who thought a given variable should affect the sentence. The sizes of these deviant groups are shown in the simplified analyses of demographic differences presented later, but their inclusion in the present context would be cumbersome, and not add appreciably to the broad implications of Tables 122 and 123. (For example 61% of the sample said that the offender with previous convictions should be punished more, and 24% that the offender without previous convictions should be punished less. The omitted deviant group consists of 2% who said that the offender without previous convictions should be punished more, and 1% who said that the offender with previous convictions should be punished less).\*

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\* It is not suggested that these small deviant groups were necessarily confused in their responses. It is quite possible, for example, that 2% might favour a harsher punishment for a first offender to "teach him a lesson he won't easily forget", and that 1% might favour a specially lenient punishment for someone with a record, either to "give him a chance" or because "he's been punished enough already, and it hasn't done any good".

- (ii) In subsequent Tables 123 and 124 (demographic analyses) the proportions saying that A should be punished more than B and that B should be punished less than A have been added, giving a total representing the overall proportion implying that A should end up with the greater punishment. (The reverse procedure gives the total implying that B should end up with the greater punishment.) Double responses (which, in terms of who should end up with the greater punishment, merely repeat the same implication twice) have been eliminated; and the sizes of the small groups omitted from the first set of tables are shown.

This simplified method of calculation makes it possible to present the data in reasonably uncumbersome form. But it has, of course, the disadvantage that, taken out of context, it is readily subject to misinterpretation. For example, the majority of the 26% whose responses either state or infer that an offender from a happy family should be punished more than one who has no family or friends, in fact said that the one without a family should be punished less.\*

Table 120 shows, in ascending order of size, the proportions of the sample who said that each variable should not affect the penalty.

(The full wordings of the questions referred to in this Section can be found in the interviewing schedule reproduced in the Appendix to this report. They tend to be lengthy, and have been telescoped a little in the following Tables, while retaining the essence of their memory).

Table 120  
Variables which should not influence the penalty (all else being equal)

V a r i a b l e	Percentage saying this should not influence the penalty
1)	%
C. Whether the offender is mentally unbalanced or not	11
I. Whether an injury is inflicted under provocation, or is unprovoked	17
A. Whether or not the offender has previous convictions	20
M. Whether the victim of an assault is an old person/child, or someone able to defend himself (the assault not being a sexual one in either case)	20
E. Whether someone who steals necessities is too poor to buy them, or could afford to do so	32
G. Whether an offence is planned beforehand or committed on the spur of the moment	35
H. In a case of theft, whether the amount stolen is large or small	62
B. Whether the offender has changed his job frequently, or kept a steady job	63
D. Whether the offender comes from a happy family, or has no family or friends	65
J. Whether article(s) stolen are easy to take, or well protected	70
L. Whether the victim of a theft is a rich or a poor person	79
F. Whether the offender comes from a criminal family or not (supposing it is his own first offence)	81
K. Whether theft is from a big store or a small shop	92
N. In a case of deliberate damage to property, whether it is private or public property that is damaged	93

1) The prefix letters indicate the order in which situations were presented to informants.

Note: This Table shows the proportions saying definitely that each variable should not be taken into account at all. Some of the remainder, in each case, gave qualified answers, or said that the appropriate punishment would be of a different kind in one case than the other. The Table does not exactly reflect in reverse the proportion thinking that a given circumstance should lead to a harsher or less harsh penalty. (For further details see Tables 121 and 122.)

Table 120 is self-explanatory, and comments on the results will be withheld until we have considered the circumstances which people think of as aggravating and extenuating, respectively.

Table 121 shows the proportions of the sample saying that, all else being equal, certain circumstances should lead to more punishment (i.e. should be thought of as aggravating circumstances).

In this and the subsequent Table 122 the item relating to mental instability has been omitted. Although only 11% thought that the sentence should not be affected by whether or not the offender was mentally unstable, very many (36% of the sample) spontaneously answered this question in terms of the nature, not of the severity, of the punishment. This type of answer was very rare in relation to any other of the items, and the question was clearly not framed in an appropriate way in relation to this particular variable. However, only 2% said that the mentally unbalanced offender should receive the greater punishment.

Table 121  
Aggravating Circumstances

(Circumstances which in otherwise identical cases informants  
said should lead to "more" punishment)

It should lead to <u>more</u> punishment if:-	% saying this
	%
M. An attack is on an <u>old person or child</u> (rather than someone able to defend themselves)	78
A. The offender has <u>previous convictions</u> (rather than none)	61
G. The offence is <u>planned beforehand</u> (rather than done on the spur of the moment)	56
I. An attack is <u>unprovoked</u> (rather than provoked)	47
E. Necessities are stolen by a thief who <u>can afford to buy them</u> (rather than by one who is too poor to buy them)	40
H. A <u>large amount</u> is stolen (rather than a small amount)	30
J. Something <u>well-protected</u> is stolen (rather than something easy to take)	20
L. A theft is from a <u>poor person</u> (rather than a rich one)	19
B. The offender had <u>changed his job a lot</u> (rather than kept a steady job)	14
D. The offender comes from a <u>happy family</u> (rather than having no family)	11
F. The offender comes from a <u>criminal family</u> (rather than not; assuming neither offender has any previous convictions himself)	10
K. Theft is from a <u>small shop</u> (rather than a big store)	5
N. <u>Private property</u> is damaged (rather than public property)	4

The next Table 122 shows the proportions saying that certain circumstances should lead to less punishment:-

Table 122  
Extenuating Circumstances

(Circumstances which in otherwise identical cases informants  
said should lead to "less" punishment)

It should lead to <u>less</u> punishment if:-	% saying this
	%
I. An attack is <u>provoked</u> (rather than unprovoked)	32
E. Necessities are stolen by a thief who is <u>too poor to buy them</u> (rather than someone who could afford them)	28
A. The offender has <u>no previous convictions</u> (rather than having been convicted before)	24
B. The offender has kept a <u>steady job</u> (rather than changing his job a lot)	18
D. The offender has <u>no family</u> (rather than coming from a happy family)	17
G. The offence is done <u>on the spur of the moment</u> (rather than planned beforehand)	12
H. A <u>small amount</u> is stolen (rather than a large amount)	8
J. Something <u>easy to take</u> is stolen (rather than something well protected)	7
M. Someone <u>able to defend</u> themselves is attacked (rather than an old person or a child)	7
F. The offender does <u>not come from a criminal family</u> (rather than if he does)	2
L. A theft is from a <u>rich person</u> (rather than a poor one)	2
K. A theft is from a <u>big store</u> (rather than a small shop)	1
N. <u>Public property</u> is damaged (rather than private property)	*

In the following comments on the three preceding Tables (120-122) some data are also used from the first (total) column of the Table (123) which follows, to indicate the effect on the size of minorities of eliminating "double-counting" due to dual responses, and to draw attention to the size of certain numbers omitted from the earlier tables. Each item is considered separately, in the order of frequency shown in Table 120 (that is starting with the item least frequently rejected as not having any bearing on the sentence).

Mental unbalance. Only 11% said that this should not affect the sentence at all. It was however, frequently said spontaneously (by 36% of the sample) that the mentally unbalanced offender should receive a different sort of punishment from the person who was not mentally unbalanced, rather than a more or less severe one. The framing of the question in respect of this item must be considered incomplete and possibly confusing. Thirty-six per cent is likely to be an underestimate of the number who would have suggested a different type of punishment for the mentally unbalanced, had this alternative been put to them.

There is very little indication of any appreciable element of vindictiveness against the mentally disturbed offender. Only 2% said or implied that he should be punished more than someone who committed the same offence and was not unbalanced.

Provocation. Only 17% said that whether or not an attack is the result of provocation should have no effect on the penalty. Lack of provocation was thought of as an aggravating circumstance considerably more often (47%) than provocation was thought of as an extenuating circumstance (32%). This is partly a reflection of a more general tendency for people to think in terms of the aggravating rather than the mitigating element. Provocation was, in fact, the most frequently mentioned of the circumstances thought of as extenuating.

Discounting double-responses, there were 9% whose replies implied that the offender who was provoked should receive the greater punishment of the two. This proportion is surprisingly large, and the response may perhaps relate to the sort of environment in which some people imagine offenders must be to run the risk of being provoked to violence.

Previous convictions. Magistrates and judges always have available to them before passing sentence a record of the offenders previous convictions. It is therefore of considerable interest that as many as 20% of the sample said that, in their opinion, an offender's previous record should not influence the penalty at all. The substantial majority (61%), however, thought that a record of previous convictions should be considered as an aggravating circumstance and lead to more punishment, while 24% thought of the absence of previous convictions as a mitigating circumstance. Eleven per cent gave both the above responses, so that the overall proportion implying that the offender with the previous record should end up with the worse punishment was 74%. Three per cent gave replies which indicated that the offender without a record should receive the greater penalty. We did not ask people to give the reasons for their opinions, but as previously stated (footnote to p.188) it is not difficult to think of possible reasons for holding this point of view.

Defenceless victim. Twenty per cent said of a non-sexual attack, that if the offence were the same it should not be taken into consideration in determining the penalty whether the victim was a child or old person, or someone able to defend himself.

Seventy-eight per cent thought that if the victim were an old person or child this should lead to more punishment. Of all the variables discussed this was the one most frequently thought of as an aggravating circumstance. Seven per cent appeared to imply that it was a mitigating circumstance if the person attacked was able to defend himself. But further analysis showed that six per cent gave dual responses to this question. It is reasonable, in this particular case, to suppose that the implication of dual responses was that if the victim were old or a child it should count against the offender, not that if the victim did not fall into one of these categories it should count positively in his favour. If this is the case, we are left only with a residual 1% who thought of it as a positive extenuating circumstance if the victim were not old or a child.

Stealing necessities. About one-third of the sample (32%) said that in a case where necessities were stolen, an offender too poor to buy them should receive the same penalty as one who could afford them. Forty per cent thought of it as an aggravating circumstance if the thief could afford to buy what he stole, while 28% thought it an extenuating circumstance if he were too poor to buy them. Again, the fairly general tendency for informants to think in terms of aggravating circumstances rather than mitigating ones is apparent. Of all the circumstances thought of as extenuating, the poverty of a thief who steals necessities was the second most frequently mentioned.

Five per cent gave dual responses to this question. No one in the sample said or implied that the poor person stealing necessities which he could not afford to buy should receive a greater penalty than the person who could afford to buy the necessities he stole.

Premeditation. Just over one-third of the sample said that the penalty should not be affected by whether a given crime was planned beforehand or done on the spur of the moment. More than half (56%) thought of it as an aggravating circumstance if the crime was premeditated, but only 12% thought of it as a mitigating circumstance if it was not premeditated. Six per cent gave dual responses, and it is clear that the very great majority of those who thought this variable should influence the sentence at all thought that evidence of premeditation should lead to a particularly severe penalty rather than that the absence of premeditation should lead to special leniency.

No-one in the sample said or implied that an offender committing an offence on the spur of the moment should end up with a worse punishment than someone who had planned a similar offence in advance.

All of the items listed above describe differences in circumstance which a large majority of people thought should influence the penalty in some way. Each of the remaining items describe differences which a majority (ranging between 62% and 93%) thought should not influence the penalty at all. They are discussed below:-

Amount stolen. Sixty-two per cent said that, in a case of theft, the penalty should not be influenced by the amount of money stolen. Thirty per cent said that if the amount stolen was large this should lead to more punishment, but only 8% implied that it should be considered an extenuating circumstance if the amount was small. These figures include 4% who gave dual responses. Clearly most of the minority who thought this variable should affect the sentence at all, were thinking in terms of heavy penalties for those stealing large amounts, rather than of particularly lenient penalties for those who stole only small amounts.

Not surprisingly, no-one said or implied that the thief who steals a small amount should be punished more than the one who steals a large amount.

The Great Train Robbery occurred about three years before the field-work for this enquiry was carried out. The effect this event, and the exemplary sentences imposed on those implicated, may have had on the distribution of responses to this question is a matter for speculation.

Job changing. Sixty-three per cent said that whether an offender had changed his job a lot, or had kept a steady job, should not affect the penalty. The remainder were fairly equally divided between those saying it should lead to more punishment if the offender had changed his job a lot (14%), and those saying it should lead to less punishment if he had held a steady job (18%). (3% gave dual answers.) This is a fairly unusual pattern; in most other cases the proportion selecting one circumstance as aggravating the offence considerably exceeded that selecting the other as extenuating. In this instance each of the two circumstances were thought of by similar proportions as things which should have a positive influence on either the severity or the leniency of the sentence.

Two per cent said spontaneously that a different type of penalty was appropriate in the two different cases.

Family background. Two-thirds of the sample said that whether the offender came from a happy family, or had no family or friends and was brought up in an orphanage, should not influence the severity of the punishment. Having no family was more often considered an extenuating circumstance (17%) than coming from a happy family was considered an aggravating one (11%). (2% gave dual answers.)

Three per cent spontaneously suggested that the type rather than the severity of the punishment should be different in the two cases, and 2% gave answers saying or implying that the more severe punishment should go to the offender without a family.

The proportion saying that coming from a happy family should lead to greater punishment may, at first sight, seem surprisingly large. In the present context, however, the contrast may sometimes have been seen as one between an offender who has had limited chances in life, and one who has had every chance but has abused his family's affection by committing a crime.

Whether stolen articles are easy to take or well protected. The question on this subject was included in order to give some measure of the extent of public sympathy with people who steal in the sort of surroundings which some might regard as putting temptation in a potential offender's way - such as the unsupervised open displays in supermarkets or large shops. The results show that the great majority (70%) thought that this sort of consideration should not affect the penalty at all.

Although the great majority of those who did think the penalties should differ in severity said or implied that the person stealing well-protected articles should end up with the greater punishment, very few of them merely implied this indirectly by saying that the person stealing goods that were easy to take should have the lesser punishment.

The results show not only that the great majority thought that ease of access to stolen goods should have no influence on the penalty, but also that very few of the remainder thought that easy access should be regarded positively as an extenuating circumstance. Many more thought of it as an aggravating circumstance if the thief managed to steal articles which were well protected.

The latter tendency may possibly be explained in relation to sympathy for the victim. People may be more inclined to sympathise with a victim of theft who had taken the trouble to protect his property than with one who had not. This might be reflected in a special antipathy towards the thief who steals well-protected property, but it would not be expected to lead to special sympathy with the thief who steals unprotected property.

Whether victim is rich or poor. About four out of every five informants said that whether the victim of theft was a rich or a poor person should not influence the penalty given to the thief. Nineteen per cent said that it should lead to more punishment if the victim was poor, but only 2% said that it should lead to less punishment if the victim was rich. There were no dual responses.

Thus, most people thought that the richness or poverty of the victim of theft was not a relevant consideration in sentencing, and the great majority of those who thought it was relevant looked upon the poverty of the victim as an aggravating circumstance rather than his richness as a mitigating circumstance. Only 1% said or implied that if the victim was rich the thief should end up with more punishment than if he was poor.

Criminal background. Much the same proportion (81%) said that whether or not an offender came from a criminal family\* should have no influence on the penalty, as said this about offenders with happy families, or with no family (79%).

Ten per cent thought of it as an aggravating circumstance if the offender came from a criminal family, but only 2% thought it was an extenuating circumstance if the offender's family was not a criminal one. There was also however, an appreciable minority (5%) who said either that the offender from a criminal family should receive less punishment, or that the one from a non-criminal family should receive more. After allowing for these "deviant" replies, and eliminating the effect of dual responses, the proportions saying or implying that the offender from the criminal family should end up with the greater punishment was 11%, while 5% said or implied that the offender from the non-criminal family should end up with the greater punishment. As in the previous case (happy family/no family) it may well be that some people thought in terms of "letting the (good) family down" as a positive aggravating factor which should lead to a specially severe sentence.

Theft from big store or small shop. Ninety-two per cent said that it should not affect the severity of the punishment whether a theft were from a big store or from a small shop. Five per cent looked on it as an aggravating circumstance if the theft was from a small shop; only 1% looked on it as extenuating circumstance if the theft was from a big store.

This question can be taken to imply differences in the seriousness to different victims of a loss of the same size, and/or differences in the identity of the person sustaining the loss (an "anonymous" company, or an individual tradesman). The results indicate that the great majority either do not think of these distinctions, or, if they do, do not think they should be considered in determining sentence. Those few who think the circumstances described should influence the sentence, tend strongly to think of it as an aggravating circumstance if the victim is a small shopkeeper, rather than as a mitigating one if the victim is a large store.

Damage to private or public property. Ninety-three per cent said that, other things being equal, it should not influence the penalty whether damage affected private or public property. The few who thought these circumstances should influence the penalty were more inclined to think of it as an aggravating circumstance if the property damaged were private than to express any other attitude. Less than 0.5% said that the ownership of the property, whether private or public, should be considered as a mitigating circumstance.

Tables 123 and 124 which follow are analyses of opinion on which offender in each of the fourteen situations should get the greater punishment by sex and by age of informant; and by socio-economic status and by level of education respectively.

Each situation is commented on separately below.

#### Mental unbalance

It was more frequently said by the higher socio-economic groups than others that the mentally unbalanced offender should receive a different sort of punishment from the person who was not mentally unbalanced (the proportions declined from 42% of S.E.G.1 to 33% of S.E.G.4 and 5).

Differences by education were marginal.

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\* It was stated in the question relating to criminal families that in each case it was the offender's first conviction. This was not stated in the question relating to a happy family and no family. The reason for including this statement in the first instance was the likelihood that the offender with a criminal family might otherwise have been thought of as an habitual offender himself.

### Provocation

The proportion thinking that the offender who was not provoked should get a greater punishment than one who was provoked declined systematically with socio-economic group from 83% of S.E.G.1 to 65% of S.E.G.5.

The better educated (81%) were much more inclined than the less well educated (71%) to think that the offender who was not provoked should receive the greater punishment of the two.

### Previous convictions

Those in the youngest age group (21-30) were less inclined than others to think that the offender with a record of previous convictions should get a greater punishment than one without a record (68% compared with 74 - 77%).

The better educated (79%) rather more often than the less well educated (73%) thought that the offender with a previous record should receive the greater penalty.

### Defenceless victim

More of the older than younger informants thought that if the victim of an attack was an old person or child, the offender should get a greater punishment than one who attacks a person able to defend himself (72% of the age group (21 - 30) rising to 83% of those over 50).

### Stealing necessities

Older informants were much more inclined than younger informants to think that where necessities were stolen, an offender who could afford to buy them should get a greater punishment than one who was too poor to buy them (54% of those age 21 - 30 rising to 70% of those over 50).

This view was also held by more of those in the lower (63%) than higher (55%) education group.

### Premeditation

A greater proportion of men (68%) than women (57%); and of older than younger informants (50% of those aged 21 - 30 rising to 71% of those over 50) thought that an offender who planned an offence in advance should get a greater penalty than one who commits an offence on the spur of the moment.

Many more of the higher managerial and professional group - S.E.G.1 (79%) were of this opinion than others (61 - 66%).

### Amount stolen

A rather greater proportion of men (38%) than women (31%) thought that a thief who steals a large amount should receive more punishment than one who steals a small amount.

### Job changing

A much greater proportion of the older than younger informants thought that an offender who has changed his job a lot should get a greater punishment than one who has kept a steady job (18% of those age 21 - 30 rising to 40% of those over 50).

This view was also held by more of the unskilled manual workers - S.E.G.5 (37%) than others (22 - 28%) and by many more of those in the lower (32%) than higher (18%) education group.

#### Family background

Many more of the older than younger informants thought that an offender from a happy family should get a greater penalty than one who has no family or friends (the proportions increased from 16% of those age 21 - 30 to 35% of those over 50).

#### Whether stolen articles are easy to take or well protected

The higher managerial and professional group - S.E.G.1 (34%) thought rather more often than others (22 - 28%) that the thief stealing something well protected should receive a greater punishment than the thief who steals something unprotected.

#### Whether victim is rich or poor

More of those over than under 50 thought that there should be a greater punishment for a thief who stole from a poor person than for one who stole from a rich person (29%, compared with 12% of those aged 21 - 40 and 19% of those aged 41 - 50).

This opinion was also held by rather more of the manual workers - S.E.G.4 and 5 (20 - 24%) than others (16 - 17%); and by more of the less well educated (21%) than the better educated (14%).

#### Criminal background

About twice as many of those over than under 50 thought that an offender from a criminal family (18%) should end up with a greater punishment than one from a non-criminal family (7 - 9%).

Unskilled manual workers - S.E.G.5 (17%) were also more often of this opinion than others (3 - 11%); as were more of those in the lower (14%) than higher (6%) education group.

#### Theft from big store or small shop

No major differences.

#### Damage to private or public property

No major differences.

Table 123

Opinion on which offender should get the greater punishment in each of fourteen situations analysed by sex and by age of informant.

	Total	Sex		Age			
		Male	Female	21-30	31-40	41-50	Over 50
Base of %: all informants	1888	900	988	314	402	448	722
C. <u>Mentally unbalanced/not unbalanced</u>	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Mentally unbalanced - greater punishment	2	2	2	3	2	1	2
Not unbalanced - greater punishment	44	43	46	48	42	44	46
Same punishment for both	11	13	10	13	14	11	9
Different type of punishment	36	35	36	30	39	37	36
Other; Don't know; Not answered	7	7	6	6	3	7	7
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
I. <u>Injured someone who provoked/did not provoke</u>							
Provoked - greater punishment	9	9	9	9	10	7	10
Not provoked - greater punishment	73	75	71	71	74	76	70
Same punishment for both	17	15	19	18	14	16	19
Different type of punishment	*	*	*	*	1	*	*
Other; Don't know; Not answered	1	1	1	2	1	1	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
A. <u>Never convicted/convicted before</u>							
Never convicted - greater punishment	3	3	3	2	3	3	3
Convicted before - greater punishment	74	76	73	68	74	75	77
Same punishment for both	20	18	21	27	20	20	17
Different type of punishment	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Other; Don't know; Not answered	2	2	2	2	2	1	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
M. <u>Attacked old person or child/able to defend</u>							
Attacked old person or child - greater punishment	79	80	77	72	77	79	83
Attacked able to defend - greater punishment	1	1	1	*	*	1	1
Same punishment for both	20	17	22	26	22	20	15
Different type of punishment	*	1	*	1	1	*	*
Other; Don't know; Not answered	*	1	*	1	*	*	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
E. <u>Stealing necessities by too poor/could afford</u>							
Too poor - greater punishment	*	1	*	*	*	1	1
Could afford - greater punishment	63	61	63	54	55	61	70
Same punishment for both	32	33	31	42	38	34	23
Different type of punishment	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Other; Don't know; Not answered	3	3	4	2	5	2	4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
G. <u>Planned beforehand/on spur of moment</u>							
Planned beforehand - greater punishment	62	68	57	50	61	62	71
On spur of moment - greater punishment	*	*	1	*	*	1	*
Same punishment for both	35	30	39	47	35	35	28
Different type of punishment	1	*	1	1	1	1	*
Other; Don't know; Not answered	2	2	2	2	3	1	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
H. <u>Steals large amount/steals small amount</u>							
Steals large amount - greater punishment	34	38	31	37	31	32	35
Steals small amount - greater punishment	*	*	1	*	*	*	1
Same punishment for both	62	58	64	61	65	65	59
Different type of punishment	1	*	1	1	1	*	1
Other; Don't know; Not answered	3	4	3	1	3	3	4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
B. <u>Changed job/steady job</u>							
Changed job - greater punishment	29	28	30	18	20	27	40
Steady job - greater punishment	2	3	3	1	2	3	3
Same punishment for both	63	65	61	79	72	64	51
Different type of punishment	1	1	1	*	1	1	1
Other; Don't know; Not answered	5	3	5	2	5	5	5
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table 123 continued

	Total	Sex		Age			
		Male	Female	21-30	31-40	41-50	Over 50
Base of %: all informants	1888	900	988	314	402	448	722
D. <u>Happy family/no family or friends</u>	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Happy family - greater punishment	26	26	27	16	18	27	35
No family - greater punishment	2	1	1	*	1	1	2
Same punishment for both	65	67	64	79	74	62	57
Different type of punishment	3	3	3	3	4	4	2
Other; Don't know; Not answered	4	3	5	2	3	6	4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
J. <u>Steals something easy to take/well protected</u>							
Easy to take - greater punishment	3	3	2	2	2	2	4
Well protected - greater punishment	24	28	23	21	23	22	30
Same punishment for both	70	67	72	75	73	74	63
Different type of punishment	*	*	*	*	1	*	*
Other; Don't know; Not answered	3	2	3	2	1	2	3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
L. <u>Stole from rich person/poor person</u>							
Stole from rich person - greater punishment	1	1	1	*	1	1	1
Stole from poor person - greater punishment	20	21	20	12	12	19	29
Same punishment for both	79	78	79	88	86	80	69
Different type of punishment	*	*	*	*	1	*	*
Other; Don't know; Not answered	*	*	*	*	*	*	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
F. <u>Criminal family/not criminal family</u>							
Criminal family - greater punishment	11	12	13	7	9	9	18
Not criminal family - greater punishment	5	4	5	2	1	3	7
Same punishment for both	81	82	79	90	87	85	71
Different type of punishment	1	*	1	*	1	1	1
Other; Don't know; Not answered	2	2	2	1	2	2	3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
K. <u>Stole from big store/small local shop</u>							
Stole from big store - greater punishment	3	2	3	1	1	2	4
Stole from small local shop - greater punishment	5	6	5	2	4	4	9
Same punishment for both	92	92	92	97	94	94	86
Different type of punishment	*	*	*	*	*	*	1
Other; Don't know; Not answered	*	*	*	*	1	*	*
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N. <u>Deliberately damaged public property/private property</u>							
Damaged private property - greater punishment	4	4	4	4	3	4	5
Damaged public property - greater punishment	2	3	2	2	3	3	2
Same punishment for both	93	93	93	94	94	93	92
Different type of punishment	*	*	*	*	*	*	1
Other; Don't know; Not answered	1	*	1	*	*	*	*
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

\* Less than 0.5 per cent

Table 124

Opinion on which offender should get the greater punishment  
in each of fourteen situations analysed by socio-economic  
status and by level of education of informant

	Total	S.E.C.					Education	
		1	2	3	4	5	Higher	Lower
Base of %; all informants	1888	86	167	426	382	337	393	1490
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
<u>C. Mentally unbalanced/not unbalanced</u>								
Mentally unbalanced - greater punishment	2	1	2	2	1	2	2	2
Not unbalanced - greater punishment	44	34	43	40	46	50	37	46
Same punishment for both	11	14	7	11	13	11	13	11
Different type of punishment	36	42	40	39	33	33	39	35
Other; Don't know; Not answered	7	9	8	8	7	4	9	6
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<u>I. Injured someone who provoked/did not provoke</u>								
Provoked - greater punishment	9	8	9	7	8	9	9	9
Not provoked - greater punishment	73	83	79	75	72	65	81	71
Same punishment for both	17	9	11	16	18	23	9	19
Different type of punishment	*	*	*	*	1	1	*	*
Other; Don't know; Not answered	1	*	1	2	1	2	1	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<u>A. Never convicted/convicted before</u>								
Never convicted - greater punishment	3	1	3	3	4	4	3	3
Convicted before - greater punishment	74	78	81	74	76	71	79	73
Same punishment for both	20	17	13	21	18	23	15	21
Different type of punishment	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	1
Other; Don't know; Not answered	2	2	1	1	1	1	2	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<u>M. Attacked old person or child/able to defend</u>								
Attacked old person or child - greater punishment	79	83	81	75	81	80	79	79
Attacked able to defend - greater punishment	1	*	*	1	1	*	1	1
Same punishment for both	20	17	17	22	17	20	17	20
Different type of punishment	*	*	1	1	*	*	1	*
Other; Don't know; Not answered	*	*	1	1	1	*	2	*
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<u>E. Stealing necessities too poor/could afford</u>								
Too poor - greater punishment	*	1	1	*	*	1	1	1
Could afford - greater punishment	63	59	62	60	63	65	55	63
Same punishment for both	32	29	32	35	31	30	36	31
Different type of punishment	2	4	1	3	3	1	3	2
Other; Don't know; Not answered	3	7	4	2	3	3	5	3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<u>G. Planned beforehand/on spur of moment</u>								
Planned beforehand - greater punishment	62	79	66	62	63	61	63	62
On spur of moment - greater punishment	*	1	1	*	1	*	*	1
Same punishment for both	35	17	29	33	35	37	33	35
Different type of punishment	1	1	1	1	*	1	1	*
Other; Don't know; Not answered	2	2	3	4	1	1	3	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<u>H. Steals large amount/steals small amount</u>								
Steals large amount - greater punishment	34	36	40	33	36	32	38	33
Steals small amount - greater punishment	*	*	*	*	*	2	1	*
Same punishment for both	62	54	55	62	61	63	57	63
Different type of punishment	1	1	1	1	*	*	1	1
Other; Don't know; Not answered	3	9	4	4	3	3	3	3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<u>B. Changed job/steady job</u>								
Changed job - greater punishment	29	23	23	22	28	37	18	32
Steady job - greater punishment	2	1	2	2	3	4	3	2
Same punishment for both	63	74	70	71	65	52	74	61
Different type of punishment	1	*	1	1	1	1	1	1
Other; Don't know; Not answered	5	2	4	4	3	6	4	4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table 124 continued

	Total	S.E.G.					Education	
		1	2	3	4	5	Higher	Lower
Base of %: all informants	1888	86	167	426	382	337	393	1490
<u>D. Happy family/no family or friends</u>	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Happy family - greater punishment	26	27	25	22	25	23	22	27
No family - greater punishment	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1
Same punishment for both	65	58	67	69	69	60	67	65
Different type of punishment	3	9	2	4	2	2	5	3
Other; Don't know; Not answered	4	4	5	4	3	4	5	4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<u>J. Steals something easy to take/well protected</u>								
Easy to take - greater punishment	3	4	4	3	3	4	2	3
Well protected - greater punishment	24	34	25	22	25	28	25	25
Same punishment for both	70	59	69	73	70	65	70	70
Different type of punishment	*	*	*	*	*	*	1	*
Other; Don't know; Not answered	3	3	2	2	2	3	2	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<u>L. Stole from rich person/poor person</u>								
Stole from rich person - greater punishment	1	1	1	1	1	1	*	1
Stole from poor person - greater punishment	20	17	16	16	20	24	14	21
Same punishment for both	79	81	82	82	77	74	84	77
Different type of punishment	*	*	*	1	1	1	1	*
Other; Don't know; Not answered	*	1	1	*	1	1	1	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<u>F. Criminal family/not criminal family</u>								
Criminal family - greater punishment	11	3	9	9	11	17	6	14
Not criminal family - greater punishment	5	2	1	4	4	6	2	4
Same punishment for both	81	93	84	85	83	72	86	79
Different type of punishment	1	*	*	1	1	1	2	1
Other; Don't know; Not answered	2	2	6	1	1	4	4	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<u>K. Stole from big store/small local shop</u>								
Stole from big store - greater punishment	3	1	*	2	2	4	1	3
Stole from small local shop - greater punishment	5	4	6	4	8	7	4	6
Same punishment for both	92	94	93	93	89	89	93	91
Different type of punishment	*	1	1	1	*	*	1	*
Other; Don't know; Not answered	*	*	*	*	1	*	1	*
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<u>N. Deliberately damaged public property/private property</u>								
Damaged private property - greater punishment	4	2	1	3	6	4	3	4
Damaged public property - greater punishment	2	1	1	2	3	5	1	2
Same punishment for both	93	95	98	95	91	91	94	93
Different type of punishment	*	1	*	*	*	*	1	*
Other; Don't know; Not answered	1	1	*	*	*	*	1	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

\* Less than 0.5 per cent

H.6 Driving Offences: A specific example of similar injuries to the victim arises from different offences by the criminal.

a) Whether punishment should be worse to dangerous driver or attacker

Informants were asked to imagine two cases in which people have been seriously injured. Their injuries are the same. One person was knocked down by someone driving a vehicle dangerously. The other was attacked in the street. When asked "Who do you think should get the worse punishment - the dangerous driver or the person who attacked someone in the street?" nearly 4 out of 10 said that the person who attacked someone in the street should get the worse punishment, and nearly 2 out of 10 said that the dangerous driver should get the worse punishment. Forty-three per cent said that both the dangerous driver and attacker should have an equally severe penalty (see Table 125).

Table 125 also includes an analysis of whether the dangerous driver or attacker should get the worse punishment by the informants' sex, socio-economic status and level of education.

There were negligible differences in the distribution of opinion between informants in different age groups, so the analysis by age is not shown here.

Table 125  
Whether the dangerous driver or attacker should get the worse  
punishment analysed by the sex, socio-economic status and  
level of education of informant.

	Total	Sex		S.E.G.					Education	
		Male	Female	1	2	3	4	5	Higher	Lower
Base of %: all informants	1900	913	987	91	151	452	387	321	390	1507
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Worse punishment to the dangerous driver	18	15	20	7	9	17	15	23	10	20
Worse punishment to the attacker	38	45	32	46	48	39	44	33	45	37
Same penalty to both	43	39	48	45	41	44	41	44	44	43
Don't know	1	1	*	2	2	*	*	*	1	*
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

\* Less than 0.5 per cent

Men were much more inclined than women to think that the attacker should get the worse punishment (45% M compared with 32% F), whereas women more often thought that the dangerous driver should get the worse punishment or that both should be given an equally severe penalty.

A greater proportion of those in the lower than the higher socio-economic groups (ranging from 23% to 7%); and of the less well educated than the better educated (20% and 10%) thought that the dangerous driver should get the worse punishment.

Those in the higher socio-economic group and the better educated more often thought that the attacker should get the worse punishment. The differences between the demographic groups in the proportions thinking both should get the same penalty were slight, except that men were rather less inclined to think this (39%) than any other group (range 41% - 49%).

Those who said that the dangerous driver should get the worse penalty thought that this case was more serious because -

	%
A car can kill	46
Dangerous driving is carelessness	36
Attacker may have been provoked	24
Victim of car accident cannot defend himself	11
Other reason	7

(More than one reply could be given to this question, so the percentages add to more than 100.)

Of those who thought that the attacker should get the worse penalty, nearly all (96%) thought that this case was more serious because an attack is deliberate.

When asked "Should the punishment be much worse or only a little worse?" we see from Table 126 below that the majority of both those who said that the worse penalty should be to the driver, and of those who said that it should be to the attacker, thought that the punishment should be much worse. However, a greater proportion of those who thought that the attacker rather than the dangerous driver should get the worse punishment were in favour of a much worse penalty.

Table 126  
Whether the punishment should be much worse or only a little worse,  
analysed by who should get the worse punishment

	Worse punishment to -	
	Driver	Attacker
Base of %: Worse punishment to driver/attacker	332	729
	%	%
Much worse	54	62
Only a little worse	43	34
Don't know; not answered	3	4
Total	100	100

Re-expressed in terms of the whole sample, these results imply that 9% favoured a much worse penalty for the dangerous driver, while 24% favoured a much worse penalty for the attacker, if each had inflicted the same injuries on their victims.

b) Whether drunken driver or sober attacker should get the worse punishment

All informants who thought that the attacker should get the worse punishment, or that both the attacker and dangerous driver should be equally penalised were asked "Supposing the dangerous driver was found to be drunk, but the attacker was not - would you say the driver or attacker should get the worse punishment?" Their replies are shown below in Table 127.

Table 127  
Whether the drunken driver or attacker should get the worse punishment,  
analysed by whether informant thought the punishment for the attacker should  
be worse or the same, before it had been stated that the driver was drunk

	Originally said worse punishment to -	
	Attacker	Same for both
Base of %: Worse punishment to attacker/ Same for both	729	825
	%	%
Drunken Driver	23	46
Attacker	50	12
Same for both	27	40
Don't know	1	2
Total	100	100

Twenty-three per cent of those who originally said that the attacker should get the worse punishment thought that if the dangerous driver was drunk, he should get the worse punishment. However, among those who originally said that there should be the same penalty for both the dangerous driver and attacker, twice this proportion (46%) thought that if the driver was found to be drunk he should get the worse punishment.

The effect on the whole sample of stating that the dangerous driver was drunk but the attacker was not, was to increase from 18% to 47% the proportion who said that the dangerous driver should get the worse punishment. Table 128 shows the distribution of opinion before and after introducing the additional contrast between the offenders.

Table 128

Whether the dangerous driver or attacker should get the worse punishment  
(Opinion before and after it was stated that the driver was drunk, the attacker not).

	Before -	After -
	Stating that dangerous driver was drunk	
Base of %: all informants	1900	1900
Worse punishment to the dangerous driver	18	47
Worse punishment to the attacker	38	28
Same penalty to both	43	24
Don't know	1	1
Total	100	100

#### H.7 How to deal with non-violent first offenders

To find informants' opinion on "ways of dealing with people who have been found breaking the law for the first time, in cases where they have not injured anyone", they were asked about seven possible ways of dealing with any such offenders. They were asked "Should it be nearly all; over half; less than half; or very few?" Their replies are shown in Table 129.

Table 129

How to deal with first offenders who have not injured anyone

	Yes						No	DK; N.A.	Total	Base of %: all informants
		Nearly all	More than half	Less than half	Very few	Qualified; Don't know				
First offenders who have not injured anyone should be -										
1)										
D. Given any advice they need or help in finding a job	%96	78	11	3	1	3	4	*	100	1888
A. Made to pay back as much as possible for what they have stolen or pay what they can for any damage they have done	%96	76	12	2	2	4	3	1	100	1888
C. Warned they will certainly go to prison (or borstal) if they commit an offence again	%95	79	8	3	2	3	5	*	100	1888
G. Fined	%78	45	14	6	4	9	21	1	100	1888
E. Warned by the police but not taken to court	%68	30	13	7	7	11	32	*	100	1888
F. Told to report regularly to the police	%59	35	10	4	5	5	40	1	100	1888
B. Sent to prison, borstal, or somewhere like that	%29	9	5	4	6	5	70	1	100	1888

1) Prefix letters indicate the order in which items were presented to informants.

\* Less than 0.5 per cent.

Most informants (95% or more) thought that at least some first offenders who have not injured anyone should be given advice or help in finding a job; made to compensate their victims (when applicable); or given a warning that they will certainly go to prison (or borstal) if they commit an offence again. Just over three-quarters thought that nearly all of them should be dealt with in these ways.

Somewhat fewer (78%) thought that any first offenders who have not injured anyone should be fined, and only 45% thought that this was the way to deal with nearly all of them.

The next highest proportions thought that they should be -

- warned by the police but not taken to court (68%)
- told to report regularly to the police (59%).

Approximately a third thought that each of these methods was a suitable way of dealing with nearly all of them.

Only 29% thought that any first offenders who have not injured anyone should be sent to prison, borstal or somewhere like that; and less than 1 in 10 thought that nearly all of them should be dealt with in this way.

In order to reduce the duration of the interview, in place of a battery of specific questions two open questions were asked about the differences appropriate to dealing with first offenders who had and had not injured someone. These open questions were not fully piloted.

In response to the question "Do you think first offenders who have injured someone should be dealt with differently or in the same ways as you've just mentioned", 78% replied that the two types of offender should be treated differently.

The subsidiary question "In what different ways do you think they should be dealt with?" was found to cover a too wide and insufficiently well-defined field for meaningful analyses. Responses covered penalties thought inappropriate for any first offenders who had not inflicted injury, but appropriate for those who had; penalties thought appropriate for some who had not inflicted injury but for more of those who had; and penalties not mentioned at all in the battery of questions relating to first offenders who had injured no-one. Little reliance can be placed on the numerical results, since it was apparent that different informants were responding within different frames of reference. Two minimal figures, however, merit attention:-

Prison, borstal etc. Not thought appropriate for  
any first offenders who had not inflicted injury;  
but appropriate for those who had injured someone ..... 28

Thought appropriate for some first offenders  
who had injured no-one; more severe sentences  
appropriate, or this type of penalty more often  
appropriate, for those who had injured someone ..... 10

} 38%

Corporal punishment. Spontaneously suggested as  
appropriate for those who had injured someone.  
No question asked about such penalties for those  
who had injured no-one ..... 15

These results should be treated with the greatest reserve, particularly since the first refers to a penalty already discussed, and the other to a penalty not mentioned earlier in the interview. All that can be said is that these were the two differences in penalty most frequently named.

Since corporal punishment had not been discussed earlier in the interview, we do not know how many (if any) informants would have thought this appropriate for a first offender who had not injured anyone.

It is worth noting that as many as 5% spontaneously suggested psychiatric treatment as appropriate for first offenders who had injured someone. Again, no question about this treatment was asked in relation to those who had injured no-one.

The remaining responses, no single one of which was given by more than 8%, mostly refer to differences in the frequency with which a penalty thought appropriate for some first offenders who had injured no-one was appropriate for an offender who had injured someone.

Tables 130 and 131 which follow show the analyses by sex and by age (130) and by socio-economic status and by level of education (131) of informants' opinion on how to deal with first offenders who have not injured anyone.

It will be noticed (Table 129) that the five point scale used in this question ("Nearly all (1); more than half (2); less than half (3); very few (4); none (5)") is the same as that used in some other parts of this enquiry - for example, in relation to the characteristics of habitual offenders.

In order to simplify the presentation of demographic analyses, without concealing any important differences of detail, the scale has been condensed to three points. In previous analyses we have combined scale-points 1+2 ("The majority") and 3+4 ("The minority"); leaving the original scale point 5 ("None") as the third point.

In the present case this grouping is inappropriate, since responses falling into the above combined "minority" group were few (between 4% and 14% for different items) and there was a marked tendency to respond in extreme terms - i.e. to say that nearly all first offenders should be treated in a given way, or that none of them should.

The grouping used in the following demographic analyses is therefore made up as follows:-

- A. Nearly all (original scale point 1)
- B. Some (more than a very few) (scale points 2+3)
- C. Very few or none (scale points 4+5)

Though this grouping appears to be a very coarse one, there were, in fact, never more than 20% in all falling into the combined group B; and group C never included more than 7% saying any given treatment should be given to "very few" first offenders, as distinct from saying it should be given to none.

Differences in the distribution of opinion within different groups of the population were mostly very slight, but the following tendencies were apparent.

More women than men and older compared with younger informants thought that nearly all first offenders who have not injured anyone should be warned by the police but not taken to court; and told to report regularly to the police (Table 130).

Analysis by socio-economic status and by level of education of informant (Table 131) showed that a greater proportion of those in the higher socio-economic and education groups than others thought that the way to deal with nearly all first offenders who have not injured anyone was to give them any advice they need or help in finding a job.

Informants in the lower socio-economic groups and the less well educated were much more inclined than others to think that nearly all first offenders who have not injured anyone should be told to report regularly to the police. Those in the higher socio-economic groups and the better educated more often thought that this was a way to deal with very few or none of them.

Table 130  
How to deal with first offenders who have not injured  
anyone, analysed by sex and by age of informant.

	Total	Sex		Age			
		Male	Female	21-30	31-40	41-50	Over 50
Base of %: all informants	1888	900	988	314	402	448	722
<u>C. Warned will go to prison (borstal) if commit an offence again</u>	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Nearly all	79	78	80	81	76	79	79
Some (more than very few)	11	9	11	10	12	11	10
Very few or none	7	9	5	7	7	7	7
Qualified; Don't know	3	4	4	2	5	3	4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<u>D. Given any advice they need or help in finding a job</u>							
Nearly all	78	78	78	82	76	78	77
Some (more than very few)	14	12	15	12	14	14	13
Very few or none	5	7	3	4	6	5	6
Qualified; Don't know	3	3	4	2	4	3	4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<u>A. Made to pay back for what stolen or damage done</u>							
Nearly all	76	76	76	77	78	75	74
Some (more than very few)	14	14	14	13	12	17	14
Very few or none	5	5	5	5	5	4	5
Qualified; Don't know	5	5	5	5	5	4	7
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<u>G. Fined</u>							
Nearly all	45	45	45	46	44	48	43
Some (more than very few)	20	22	18	23	19	21	18
Very few or none	25	23	26	20	27	22	28
Qualified; Don't know	10	10	11	11	10	9	11
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<u>F. Told to report regularly to the police</u>							
Nearly all	35	33	37	30	34	34	38
Some (more than very few)	14	14	14	15	16	16	11
Very few or none	45	48	43	51	45	46	43
Qualified; Don't know	6	5	6	4	5	4	8
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<u>E. Warned by the police but not taken to court</u>							
Nearly all	30	27	33	21	29	28	36
Some (more than very few)	20	22	18	22	20	20	19
Very few or none	39	40	38	47	37	42	33
Qualified; Don't know	11	11	11	10	14	10	12
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<u>B. Sent to prison, borstal, or somewhere like that</u>							
Nearly all	9	8	9	9	7	10	8
Some (more than very few)	9	10	7	12	11	8	7
Very few or none	76	75	78	74	74	78	77
Qualified; Don't know	6	7	6	5	8	4	8
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table 131

How to deal with first offenders who have not injured anyone analysed  
by socio-economic status and by level of education of informant

	Total	S.E.C.					Education	
		1	2	3	4	5	Higher	Lower
Base of %: all informants	1888	86	167	426	382	337	393	1490
<u>C. Warned will go to prison (borstal) if commit an offence again</u>	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Nearly all	79	77	73	76	80	81	74	80
Some (more than very few)	11	7	12	12	9	7	12	11
Very few or none	7	10	8	8	8	7	8	7
Qualified; Don't know	3	6	7	4	3	5	6	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<u>D. Given any advice they need or help in finding a job</u>								
Nearly all	78	85	82	78	76	72	81	77
Some (more than very few)	14	3	10	15	11	17	9	15
Very few or none	5	6	5	5	7	6	6	5
Qualified; Don't know	3	6	3	2	6	5	4	3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<u>A. Made to pay back for what stolen or damage done</u>								
Nearly all	76	75	81	78	75	72	79	75
Some (more than very few)	14	14	12	12	15	16	13	14
Very few or none	5	6	3	5	4	6	2	6
Qualified; Don't know	5	5	4	5	6	6	6	5
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<u>G. Fined</u>								
Nearly all	45	41	45	44	46	43	44	45
Some (more than very few)	20	18	21	20	22	20	19	21
Very few or none	25	25	21	25	24	26	25	25
Qualified; Don't know	10	16	13	11	8	11	12	9
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<u>F. Told to report regularly to the police</u>								
Nearly all	35	27	28	32	34	40	26	37
Some (more than very few)	14	10	17	13	13	16	13	14
Very few or none	45	56	49	48	48	39	54	43
Qualified; Don't know	6	7	6	7	5	5	7	6
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<u>E. Warned by the police but not taken to court</u>								
Nearly all	30	28	25	25	31	33	25	31
Some (more than very few)	20	19	18	19	22	20	20	21
Very few or none	39	37	40	45	37	38	42	38
Qualified; Don't know	11	16	17	11	10	9	13	10
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
<u>B. Sent to prison, borstal, or somewhere like that</u>								
Nearly all	9	8	7	7	8	10	7	9
Some (more than very few)	9	5	10	9	10	7	10	8
Very few or none	76	80	78	77	74	78	76	77
Qualified; Don't know	6	7	5	7	8	5	7	6
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

H.8 Fines: should they be increased, decreased or stay the same

Informants were asked "On the whole, do you think fines (in general) should be bigger than they are now, or smaller, or about the same?" Their replies are shown in Table 132.

Table 132  
Whether fines in general should be bigger, smaller,  
or about the same as they are now.

	Total
Base of %: all informants	1900
<u>Fines should be -</u>	%
Bigger	48
Smaller	1
About the same	26
Standardised (unprompted answer)	3
Bigger for some offences/smaller for others	7)
Bigger for some offences	6}{14
Smaller for some offences	1)
Other answers	5
Don't know	3
	100

Nearly a half of all informants thought that fines in general should be bigger, about a quarter thought that they should remain the same, and only 1% thought that they should be smaller.

Other replies were that fines should be standardised (3%), or that for some specified offences they should either be increased or decreased (14%).

In particular, informants spontaneously mentioned that -

Fines should be <u>increased</u> for -	%
Drunken driving	3
Stealing/theft	3
Crimes causing physical injury	3
Violence against children	3
Wilful or malicious damage	2
Other offences	7
Fines should be <u>decreased</u> for -	%
Parking	2
Other motoring offences	2
Other offences	4

I. ATTITUDES TO SELF AND TO "MOST PEOPLE" AS POTENTIAL LAW BREAKERS  
(Based of Section O of Schedule)

I.1 Introduction

Informants were questioned, first about "most people" and then about themselves personally, in respect of:-

- i) their proneness to break some laws, if it seemed likely they would "get away with it".
- and ii) the main thing which stopped them from breaking the law.

It must, of course, be recognised that, in the interview-situation, many people are likely to present themselves in what they judge to be a favourable or socially acceptable light. In order to reduce this tendency, each informant's ideas about most (other) people were elicited before he was questioned about himself. Someone who presented himself as different from most people was, therefore, aware that he was doing so. Many informants nonetheless presented themselves as "better" than most people - if we consider "better" in the conventional sense of more law-abiding - and restrained mainly by conscience, upbringing etc. rather than by external deterrents.

It is probably true to say that people who presented themselves as different from most others were usually intending to present themselves as "better". But it cannot be inferred that those who presented themselves (and with few exceptions most other people as well) as not entirely law-abiding, or as restrained more by external deterrents than by internalised ones, were evaluating these statements in terms of "good" or "bad" citizenship. We can only say that they were, in effect, equating themselves with what they thought to be the norm ("most people are like this and so am I").

The objects of this short section of the research were principally to find the extent to which, in a period of increasing crime:

- i) members of various social groups were readily prepared to present themselves personally as potential law-breakers, if only in a marginal sense; or stopped from offending principally by external restraints rather than their inner feelings.
- and ii) individuals dissociated themselves from most other people, by claiming to be more law-abiding; or more inclined to be stopped from offending by their conscience and other internal forces, than by external deterrents.\*

The description of themselves obtained from informants was essentially a subjective and fairly superficial one. The intention was to find how many people readily described themselves, at the time of this enquiry, as not wholly law abiding or not restrained from law-breaking mainly by their conscience or inner feelings. It was no part of the object of this

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\* A few informants presented themselves as less law-abiding, or more inclined to be influenced by external restraints than most others. The numbers were too small for separate analysis.

research to find out the facts about the offences of informants. But, in order to illustrate the ease with which many people who describe themselves as wholly law-abiding will admit exceptions, informants were asked whether they had ever committed each of two offences selected as likely to be more socially acceptable than most others.

A final question asked for informants' beliefs about what would be their greater worry if they were caught by the police breaking the law - having to appear in court, or thinking of the sentence they might get. Responses indicate the extent to which, at a time when the number of persons taken to court was increasing, the prospect of a court appearance (with its attendant social consequences) could be considered an important deterrent in its own right.

The results reported here are indicative of the extent to which people overtly held some laws in disrespect, and/or attributed such attitudes to "most people". The laws to which people were referring were not specified, but the initial question was framed in such a way as to contrast the wholly law-abiding persons with the actual or potential occasional or trivial offender. It is reasonable to infer that informants were led indirectly to think in terms of what they themselves would consider to be relatively petty offences.

No attempt has been made to evaluate these results. They are presented simply as a description of overt attitudes at a particular time, when crime was increasing.

## I.2 Proneness to break some laws: "most people"/self.

Informants were asked to imagine themselves having a conversation about crime, and that one person said:-

- (A) "I would not normally break the law, however likely it seemed I would get away with it"

while another said:-

- (B) "I might break some laws so long as I thought I would get away with it".

They were first asked which, on the whole, of the two imaginary participants in the conversation they thought MOST people were like. Then (after an intervening question) the statements were repeated, and they were asked "Do you think you yourself are more like the first person, or the second?"

Table 133 shows their responses -

Table 133

Whether most people/self would not normally  
break the law, or might break some laws if  
they thought they could get away with it.

(For description of questioning procedure see text)

	Most people	Self
Bases: all informants	1888	1888
Would not normally break the law	38	67
Might break some laws	61	33
Don't know; not asked	1	0
	100%	100%

33% said that they might break some laws so long as they thought they could get away with it; while 61% expressed this opinion about "most people".

Cross tabulation of informants' answers to the questions about their own and "most people's" proneness to break some laws showed\*:-

I might break some laws; and most people might	31 )	
I might break some laws; but most people would not	2 )	33%
I would <u>not</u> break the law; and most people would not	37 )	
I would <u>not</u> break the law; but most people might	30 )	67%

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\* the 1% who did not answer the question about "most people" are omitted from this calculation, but the percentages add to 100 rather than 99 because of rounding up.

All but 2% among the 33% who said that they personally might break some laws thought the same was true of most people. 37% among the 67% who said that they personally would not break the law said the same was true of most people. The remaining 30% presented themselves in a better light than "most other people", saying that whereas most people might break some laws, they personally would not. Since informants were questioned about other people before they were asked about themselves, this 30% knew that they were describing themselves as more law-abiding than they believed most other people to be.

Table 134 analyses by each of the standard demographic variables used in this enquiry it shows the proportions in each group who said that i) most people and ii) they themselves, might break some laws so long as they thought they would get away with it. (The proportion of "don't know" responses to the first of these questions never exceeded 1.7% in any group, and there were no such responses to the second).

Differences by type of area, though marginal in extent were consistent for each question and this analysis is included for general interest.

Table 134

Those saying that i) most people and ii) they themselves, might break some laws so long as they thought they would get away with it.

Analysis by demographic variables

		i) Most people might break some laws	ii) I myself might break some laws	Bases
<u>Age</u>	21 - 30	69%	42%	314
	31 - 40	65	43	402
	41 - 50	61	31	448
	50 +	56	25	722
<u>Sex</u>	Male	64%	43%	900
	Female	59	24	988
<u>Education</u>	Higher	67%	40%	393
	Lower	60	31	1490
<u>Socio-economic group</u>				
	Group 1	71%) 63%	45%) 40%	86
	" 2	59	38	167
	" 3	61	34	426
	" 4	63	43	382
	" 5	64	31	337
<u>Type of area</u>	Conurbation	64%	36%	632
	Other urban	59	31	855
	Rural	62	32	401
All informants		61	33	1888

In every group the proportion saying that most people might break some laws so long as they thought they could get away with it was well in excess of 50%, and it was always much greater than the proportion saying the same thing was true of themselves.

There was a systematic decline with age in the proportions saying that most people might break the law (from 69% among those aged 21-30 to 56% among those aged over 50). 42-43% amongst each of the two younger age groups (up to age 40) said they personally might break some laws, but the proportion fell to 31% among those aged 41-50 and again to 23% among those over 50 years of age.

Men (64%) were slightly more inclined than women (59%) to say that most people might break some laws, and much more inclined than women to say they might break the law themselves (43% and 24%).

Those in the higher education group were both more inclined than those in the lower group to say that most people might break some laws (67% and 60%) and that they themselves might do so (40% and 31%).

Analysis by S.E.G. showed no clearcut pattern. The small sample of persons in S.E.G. 1 (professional and higher managerial) were the most inclined of any of the groups considered in this analysis both to say that most people might break some laws (71%), and that they themselves might do so (45%), but this difference disappears if we combine their responses with those of SEG 2 (lower managerial). The trend is, however, consistent with the results when analysed by education, and there is probably some real tendency for the better educated and those in the "higher prestige" occupations to be particularly prone to think of others, and to present themselves, as inclined to break some laws. The reason for this is obscure. The possibility that it might be the outcome of these groups responding within a slightly different frame of reference from the rest - perhaps thinking more of civil offences, such as tax evasion, or motoring offences, is not supported by later results. If SEG's 1 and 2 are combined, no appreciable difference is apparent between the socio-economic groups in the extent to which they say that most people might break some laws, but those in SEG 4 (skilled manual workers) and the two professional and managerial groups were rather more inclined than were either the white-collar workers or the unskilled and semi-skilled manual workers to say that they themselves might break some laws.

In brief, differences between groups were fairly slight in respect of their views about "most other people". But men and women differed very markedly in their assessment of themselves - with only 24% of women compared with 43% of men saying they might break some laws. The two younger age groups (42-43%) were much more inclined than the two older groups (31% and 23%) to say that they themselves might break some laws; but it is noteworthy that there was no difference between those aged 21-30 and those aged 31-40 in this respect. The professional and managerial groups and skilled manual workers were more inclined than others to describe themselves as potential law breakers.

I 3. Comparison between informants' general presentation of their proneness to break the law, and their admission of two "socially acceptable" offences.

a) Introduction.

Many people whose idea of themselves - or, at least that which they were readily prepared to state in an interview - was that of fully law-abiding citizens were quite prepared to admit that they had, in fact, broken the law in ways which appeared to them either trivial or comparatively acceptable socially. Informants were questioned about two such offences. The interviewer said "There are things that some people don't think of as law-breaking at the time they do them. For instance ....." and then asked "Have you ever at any time in your life:-

- i) Travelled on the railway, bus or tube without paying?
- ii) Taken anything from work which you weren't really strictly supposed to?"

Table 135 shows the distribution of responses to these two questions, analysed by the demographic variables used in this enquiry. Responses to the general question (i.e. the proportions saying that they might break some laws themselves so long as they thought they would get away with it) are given in the first column for comparison.

Table 135

Taking things from work and travelling without paying the fare.

(Details of introduction and form of questions given in text)

Analysis by demographic variables

	1 Might break some laws myself	2 Have taken things from work	3 Have travelled without paying	4 Either or both of 2 and 3	Bases
<u>Age</u>	%	%	%	%	%
21 - 30	42	45	64	73	313
31 - 40	43	44	59	71	402
41 - 50	31	28	45	54	448
50 +	25	22	31	55	722
<u>Sex</u>					
Men	43	44	52	65	900
Women	24	21	41	47	988
<u>Education</u>					
Higher	40	40	53	62	393
Lower	31	30	44	54	1490
<u>Socio-economic Group</u>					
Group 1	45	44	55	62	86
2	38	32	42	53	167
3	34	34	49	58	426
4	43	46	53	67	382
5	31	26	41	50	337
<u>Type of area</u>					
Conurbation	36	33	54	61	632
Other urban	31	33	45	57	855
Rural	32	27	35	43	401
All informants	33	32	46	56	1888

b) Stealing from work.

It will be seen from Table 135 that the question "Have you ever in your life taken anything from work which you weren't strictly supposed to?" yielded an almost identical proportion of positive responses (52%) as did the general question about the informant's proneness to break some laws (53%); and that very similar proportions in each demographic group gave positive responses to each question.

This does not, of course, imply that the same individuals answered each of the two questions in the same way. Table 136 is an analysis of the combined responses to the general questions concerning "most people" and the informant personally, and to the specific question about taking things from work.

Table 136  
General attitude towards most people/self as  
potential law breakers analysed by whether  
informant admitted having taken things from  
work which he was not strictly supposed to.

Base: all informants able to answer all three questions on which this analysis is based.		1859*
<u>HAVE TAKEN THINGS FROM WORK</u>		%
Most people would not break the law; nor would I	7) 15%	32%
Most people might break the law; but I would not	8) )	
Most people would not break the law; but I might	1 )	
Most people might break the law and so might I	16 )	
<u>HAVE NEVER TAKEN THINGS FROM WORK, BUT MIGHT BREAK THE LAW</u>		49%
Most people might break the law; so might I	16 )	17%
Most people would not break the law; but I might	1 )	
<u>HAVE NEVER TAKEN THINGS FROM WORK, AND WOULD NOT BREAK THE LAW</u>		
Most people would not break the law; nor would I	29 )	51%
Most people might break the law; but I would not	22 )	
		100% 100%

\* Note: The Table is based on the cross analysis of three different questions. 29 cases were omitted from the calculations, in which any one or more of the three questions was not answered within its own terms of reference (qualified answers; "don't know", not asked).

It will be seen that:-

- i) the 32% who said they had taken things from work included 15% who had previously said that they would not normally break the law however likely it seemed they might get away with it. These, in turn, included 7% who had also said that most people would not normally break the law.
- ii) in addition to the 32% who admitted having taken things from work, there were a further 17% who had previously said they might break some laws. All but 1% among this 17% had also said that "most people" might break the law. In all nearly half the sample (49%) admitted taking things from work, and/or said they might break some laws so long as they thought they would get away with it.

c) Travelling without paying the fare

46% replied "Yes" when asked "Have you ever travelled ... without paying the fare?". The demographic groups most frequently admitting this offence were the same as those who most often gave a positive response to the other two questions - namely, young people, men, those in the higher education group, the top socio-economic group and group 4 (skilled workers).

The difference between the proportions of men and women admitting they had travelled without paying the fare was much less marked than it was in relation either to the general question, or to the question about taking things from work. The difference probably implies little more than both sexes are equally open to the temptation of avoiding paying fares. There was also quite a marked tendency for the proportion to decline between conurbation (54%), other urban districts (45%) and rural districts (35%). (see Table 135).

Table 137 shows how people's answers to this question were related to their answers to the two general questions on law-breaking by themselves and "most people".

Table 137

General attitude to most people/self as potential  
lawbreakers analysed by whether informant admitted  
having used public transport without paying the fare.

Base: all informants able to answer all three questions used in this analysis	1858 *
<u>HAVE TRAVELLED WITHOUT PAYING FARE</u>	
Most people would not break the law; nor would I	14    )    )
"            might break the law; but I would not	)    ) 25%
"            would not break the law; but I might	11    )    )
"            might break the law; and so might I	)    )
<u>HAVE NEVER TRAVELLED WITHOUT PAYING FARE, BUT MIGHT BREAK THE LAW</u>	1    ) 46%    )
Most people might break the law; and so might I	)    )
"            would not break the law; but I might	20    )    )
<u>HAVE NEVER TRAVELLED WITHOUT PAYING FARE AND WOULD NOT BREAK THE LAW</u>	)    ) 58%
Most people would not break the law; nor would I	11    )    )
"            might break the law; but I would not	) 12%    )
1    )    )	
Most people would not break the law; nor would I	23    )
"            might break the law; but I would not	)
	19    ) 42%
	100%            100%

\* Note: This table is based on the cross-analysis of three different questions. 30 cases were omitted from the calculations, in which any one or more of the three questions was not answered within its own terms of reference (qualified answers; "don't know", not asked).

It will be seen that:-

- i) The 46% who said they had travelled without paying the fare included 25% who had previously said they would not normally break the law. These in turn included 14% who had said that other people would not normally break the law.
- ii) in addition to the 46% who said they had travelled without paying the fare there were a further 12% who had previously said they might break some laws. In all 58% of the sample admitted having travelled without having paid the fare and/or said they might break some laws so long as they thought they would get away with it.

Further analysis showed that while only 33% of the sample initially presented themselves as the sort of person who might break some laws, 6% either initially presented themselves in this way, and/or admitted having taken things from work, and/or admitted having travelled without paying the fare. Clearly very many people who describe themselves as the sort who would not normally break the law however likely it seemed they would get away with it are willing, without any pressure or probing, to admit that there have been exceptions.

I 4. The main thing that stops "most people"/self from breaking the law.

a) Detailed analysis.

Informants were not prompted in any way as to what might be the things which stop people from breaking the law, but were asked two open questions, first about "most people", and later about themselves. Thus it was again ensured that those who presented themselves as different from most other people were aware that they were doing so. The questions were:-

"What do you think is the main thing that stops most people from breaking the law?"

and "What do you think is the main thing that stops you from breaking the law, or holds you back if you are tempted to break it?"

The second phrase was added to the second question in order to inhibit the response "I never think of breaking the law" and to encourage people to think rather in terms of the reason why it did not occur to them to break the law\*. (This problem rarely arose when informants were speaking of other people).

Verbatim responses were first analysed in detail, and the main restraints attributed to other people and to the informant personally were compared.

It was found that 95-96% of all detailed responses were included in descriptive categories used by 5% and upwards of informants to describe either the main thing stopping other people, or themselves, or both. These several categories in turn could readily be grouped into two - those relating to people's

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\* It will be seen that, despite this precaution, 6% replied in terms of general satisfaction with life and the lack of any personal desire to break the law.

conscience or inner feelings, and those relating to external restraints (the operation of the law or its consequences). This twofold grouping has been used for demographic analyses, and for cross-analyses of the present questions and those relating to proneness to break some laws.

Table 138 is a detailed analysis of responses to each of the two questions quoted above.

Table 138

"What do you think is the main thing that stops most people from breaking the law?"

compared with

"What do you think is the main thing that stops you from breaking the law or holds you back if you are tempted to break it?"

(Responses given by 5% or more to either or both questions)

	Most people	Self
Bases: all informants	1888	1888
<u>Main thing stopping most people/self is:-</u>	%	%
Conscience; feeling it is wrong; upbringing	31	51
Chances of being caught	37	17
Fear of legal consequences; punishment; duration/magnitude of sentence/fine etc.	15	6
Fear of publicity, personal disgrace, having to appear in court	10	7
Unwilling to hurt family, friends etc.	2	8
Satisfied with life; no desire to break law etc. (positive statement excluding any reference to conscience, chances of being caught etc.).	1	6
	96%	95%

Note: This table includes only those answers given by 5% or more in relation either to "most people" or to "self". Consequently, percentages add to rather less than 100%.

68% of all responses to each of these two questions referred either to conscience etc. or to the chances of being caught. But whereas 51% said that they themselves were stopped mainly by conscience from breaking the law, and 17% that they were stopped mainly because of the chances of being caught, only 31% said that conscience was the main thing which stopped other people from breaking the law and 37% that the main thing was the chance of being caught.

Informants were considerably more inclined to attribute to others than to themselves fear of the legal consequences and of publicity as the main reason for not breaking the law. They were more inclined to attribute to themselves than to others unwillingness to hurt other people's feelings; and a general satisfaction with life which left no wish to break the law.

b) Inner feelings and legal restraints (demographic analyses).

The responses given in Table 138 may be divided into two main groups:-

- i) those implying inner feelings unrelated to the deterrent effect of the law ("Inner feelings")
- ii) those implying deterrence by the forces of the law and their social consequences ("legal restraints").

	<u>Main thing stopping</u>	
	<u>Most People</u>	<u>Self</u>
	%	%
<u>Responses relating to inner feelings:-</u>		
Conscience - feeling it is wrong, upbringing; unwilling to hurt others; satisfied with life, no desire to break law	34	64
<u>Responses relating to legal restraints:-</u>		
Chances of being caught; fear of legal consequences, punishment, duration/magnitude of sentence/fine etc; fear of publicity, personal disgrace, having to appear in court.	62	31
	<hr/> 96%	<hr/> 95%

62% gave responses indicating that they thought that legal restraints was the main thing that stopped most people from breaking the law; only 31% said that legal restraints was the main thing stopping them personally. Conversely only 34% gave responses indicating that inner feelings were the main thing which stopped most people from breaking the law, while 64% indicated that inner feelings were, in their opinion, the main thing which stopped them personally.

In Table 139 the distribution of responses in each demographic sub-group are shown in relation to these two categories of response. In order to simplify visual comparisons between the results referring to "most people" and to "self", they have been juxtaposed in respect of each type of response.

Table 139

"Inner feelings" and legal restraints as the main thing thought to stop  
i) most people, and ii) the informant, from breaking the law.

(See text (page 224) and Table 138 for an explanation of the grouping of responses, and the wording of questions).

Demographic analyses

G R O U P		Main reason for not breaking the law				B A S E S
		Inner feelings		Legal restraints		
		Most People	Self	Most People	Self	
		(1)	(3)	(2)	(4)	
<u>Age</u>						
21 - 30	%	25	51	72	44	314
31 - 40	%	30	60	67	35	402
41 - 50	%	38	67	57	26	448
50 +	%	39	71	58	26	722
<u>Sex</u>						
Men	%	33	56	63	37	900
Women	%	36	71	61	26	988
<u>Education</u>						
Higher	%	38	65	61	31	393
Lower	%	34	64	62	31	1490
<u>Socio-economic group</u>						
1	%	31	65	67	33	86
2	%	40	63	58	31	167
3	%	34	70	63	27	426
4	%	32	55	65	38	382
5	%	29	60	65	35	337
<u>Type of area</u>						
Conurbation	%	30	59	66	35	632
Other urban	%	39	68	58	29	855
Rural	%	32	65	65	31	401
All informants	%	34	64	62	31	1888

Note: The percentages in columns 1 and 2, and 3 and 4, respectively, are additive horizontally, but because of the overall omission of 4-5% (i.e. the sum of all those giving responses not described in Table 138 including "don't know's") each adds to rather less than 100%.

A majority in all social groups, ranging upwards to 71%, said that they personally were stopped mainly by their inner feelings from breaking the law, while a minority never greater than 40% expressed this opinion of "most people". Conversely, a majority in all groups, ranging upwards to 72%, said that most people were stopped by external, legal restraints, but the minority who said the same of themselves was never greater than 44%.

The proportion saying that legal restraints rather than internalised ones were the main thing which stopped them personally from breaking the law, declined with age. 44% of persons aged 21-30 said this; 35% of those aged 31-40; and 26% of older people; (there was no further change after the age of 40). A similar difference was found in relation to opinion about "most people". 72% of the youngest age group, ranging downward to 57-58% of the two older groups, said that most people were mainly stopped by the external restraints of the law.

Men (37%) were considerably more inclined than women (26%) to say that they personally were mainly stopped by external legal restraints, but there was no difference between the sexes (63% and 61%) in the frequency with which they held this to be true of most people.

There was no difference between the views of those of higher and of lower education.

Those in SEG's 2 and 3 (lower managerial and "white collar" workers) were less inclined than others both to say that they themselves were mainly stopped by legal restraints, and that most people were stopped in this way. But the difference was marginal except in the contrast between the restraints ascribed to themselves by white collar workers, and by both groups of manual workers. Only 27% of white collar workers, compared with 38% of skilled, and 35% of semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers, said that they were mainly stopped by external legal restraints.

There was a marginal tendency for those now living in conurbations (35%) to say more often than those living in other urban areas or in rural districts (29%; 31%) that they personally were stopped mainly by external factors.

c) Nature of main restraint, in relation to proneness to break the law.

Informants were divided into three groups, defined according to the combination of responses they gave to the questions about themselves and other people as potential law-breakers. The groups (which were each of fairly equal size -  $33\frac{1}{3}\%$  of the sample) were made up as follows:-

Group A. Those who said that they themselves would not normally break the law however likely they thought it was that they would get away with it, and expressed the same opinion about most people. (Described in Table as:- "I would not; most others would not").

Group B Those who said that they themselves would not normally break the law, but most people might break some laws if they thought they would get away with it. (Described in Table as:- "I would not; most others might")

Group C Those who said that they themselves might break some laws so long as they thought they would get away with it. (Described in Table as:- "I might"). Nearly all of this group also said that most people might break some laws.

The distribution within each of these three groups of responses to the questions about the main thing stopping informants themselves, and "most people" from breaking the law is shown in Table 140.

Table 140

The main thing that stops most people/self from breaking the law analysed by informants' combined attitudes to "most people" and to themselves as potential lawbreakers.

	Attitudes to law breaking		
	A. I would not most others would not	B. I would not most others might	C. I might
Bases of percentages*	677	567	618
<u>I am stopped from breaking the law mainly by:-</u>	%	%	%
Inner feelings	75	70	49
Legal restraints	21	26	46
Miscellaneous and don't know	4	4	6
	100%	100%	100%
<u>Most people are stopped from breaking the law mainly by:-</u>	%	%	%
Inner feelings	49	30	23
Legal restraints	48	66	73
Miscellaneous and don't know	3	4	4
	100%	100%	100%

\* Those who were unable to generalise about "most people" are omitted from these bases.

Whatever informants said about their own and other people's proneness to break some laws, they tended to think less often of other people than of themselves as stopped mainly by their inner feelings, conscience etc. However, opinion about restraints differed markedly between the three groups:-

- A. Those who said that neither they personally nor most other people would normally break the law.

75% of this group said that they were themselves stopped from breaking the law mainly by their inner feelings, and 49% said this was the main thing which stopped most other people.

- B. Those who said that they personally would not break the law, but most others might.

70% of this group said that they themselves were stopped mainly by their inner feelings, but only 30% said that this was the main thing which stopped most other people.

- C. Those who said that they themselves might break some laws.

49% of this group said that they were themselves stopped from breaking the law mainly by their inner feelings, but only 23% said that this was the main thing which stopped most other people.

I.5 Relative anticipated anxiety about court appearance or sentence in relation to proneness to break the law.

- a) Court appearance or sentence as main anxiety if caught by the police

For many people the prospect of appearing in court (with its attendant publicity and possible social consequences) may be a greater deterrent against breaking the law than the prospective penalty. People were asked which of these two things - having to appear in court or thinking of the sentence they might get - would worry them most if they were caught by the police breaking the law. The results are shown in Table 141.

Table 141

"Supposing you were caught by the police breaking the law, which would worry you most - having to appear in court or thinking of the sentence you might get?"

Base: All informants	1888
<u>Would worry most about:-</u>	%
Having to appear in court	54
The sentence	25
Both equally (unprompted answers)	15
Other unprompted answers relating to conscience, publicity for self, or disgrace to family or others	4
Miscellaneous answers and Don't know	1
Not answered	1 (0.5)

54% said they would worry most about having to appear in court. Less than half this proportion (25%) said they would worry most thinking of the possible sentence; while 15% said spontaneously that they would be equally worried about both of these things. The 4% who gave spontaneous answers relating to conscience, publicity or disgracing the family can reasonably be assumed to have been thinking in terms of the court appearance rather than the penalty.

In the demographic analyses which follow, (Table 142), the 4% of answers described above have been grouped together with "court appearance". Only differences by age and sex are shown. There were no differences by education or by type of area, and the minor differences found between the different SEG's were unsystematic.

Table 142  
"Supposing you were caught by the police breaking the law,  
which would worry you most - having to appear in court  
or thinking of the sentence you might get?"

Analyses by age and by sex

Group		Main worry if caught would be about:				Bases
		Court appearance (and social consequences)	The sentence	Both equally	Miscellaneous and don't know	
<u>Age</u>	21 - 30	% 47	40	13	0	314
	31 - 40	% 52	32	15	1	402
	41 - 50	% 57	25	17	1	448
	Over 50	% 67	14	16	3	722
<u>Sex</u>	Male	% 57	29	13	1	900
	Female	% 59	21	18	2	988

Men (29%) were rather more inclined than women (21%) to say that they would worry most about the sentence, but this was principally because the women tended more often than the men to say that they would be equally worried by the thought of appearing in court and the sentence they might get. There was a negligible difference between the sexes in the size of the majorities who said they would worry most about having to appear in court or its social consequences (57-59%).

Differences by age were outstandingly greater than any others. The proportion saying that they thought the sentence they might get would worry them most declined steeply from 40% in the youngest group (aged 21-30), through 32% among those aged 31-40, 25% of those aged 41-50, to only 14% of those aged over 50. The decrease with age in the proportions saying they would worry most about having to appear in court (from 47% to 67%) was not quite so steep because older people were slightly more inclined than younger ones either to say that both things would worry them equally, or to give miscellaneous responses.

b) Court appearance and sentence in relation to attitude to others/self as law-breakers.

In Table 143 peoples' beliefs about the relative anxiety they would expect to feel, if caught breaking the law, about having to appear in court and the sentence they might get, are analysed in relation to combined statements and most peoples' and their own proneness to break some laws.

Table 143  
Court appearance and thinking of sentence as main worry  
if caught by police

"Supposing you were caught by the Police breaking the law which would worry you most - having to appear in court or thinking of the sentence you might get"

Analysed by combination of attitudes to most people  
and self as potential law-breakers

	Attitude to law-breaking:-		
	A. I would not Most others would not	B. I would not Most others might	C. I might
Bases of percentages:	677	567	618
<u>Would worry most about:-</u>	%	%	%
Having to appear in court (incl. social consequences of court appearance)	59	60	55
The sentence	21	24	32
Both equally (spontaneous)	19	15	11
Other answers and don't know	1	1	2
	100%	100%	100%

The majority of all three groups (55 - 60%) said they would worry more about having to appear in court or its social consequences, than thinking of the sentence they might get. But those who had said that they themselves might break some laws were more inclined to say that they would worry most about the sentence (32%) than were either of the other two groups (21 - 24%). The proportion saying spontaneously that they would worry about both things equally declined from 19% among those who said that both they themselves, and most (other) people would not normally break any laws, through 15% of those who said that most others might but they would not, to 11% of those who said they might break some laws themselves.

The greater emphasis on worrying about the sentence among those who said they might personally break some laws is consistent with the way in which they described themselves, but the outstanding results of this analysis is the consistency in all three groups of the size of the majority who said that they would worry most about appearing in court, or its social consequences.

## J. VICTIMS OF CRIME; MEMORABLE AND UPSETTING INCIDENTS

(Derives from Section I of Schedule)

### J.1 Limitations and Aims

This part of the research has a limited aim, consistent with the limited time available in a wide-ranging interview to deal with the subject of victimisation, and with the comparatively small size of sample appropriate for the main body of the research (which is concerned with public attitudes and knowledge).

An enquiry aimed at finding out from victims about the total incidence of unreported crime would be a major piece of research in its own right. Numerous aids to recall would be needed, not only for the obvious purpose of helping people to remember events which retained little subjective importance to them, but also to enable the researcher to define the nature of the crimes reported with adequate precision. A sample much larger than the present one would be required, since the time-span over which memory is likely to be fairly reliable is short\*, and people who have been victims of any given serious crime within a quite short period before interview will form a very small proportion of the whole.

The present research centres on what may be described as "memorable victimisation", that is on those offences of which the informant himself, a relative or someone he knows well was the victim, and which he recalls without difficulty. Such offences we assume to have been of some subjective importance at the time of interview. The reasons why they are fixed in the informant's memory at this time, however, are likely to vary. Relatively trivial incidents may be recalled if they took place very recently; trivial incidents (or major incidents with a minor subjective impact) in the more distant past will probably tend to be forgotten; and upsetting incidents from the distant past may tend to be remembered more often than objectively similar incidents which are closer in time but lacked this subjectively upsetting effect.

Three figures which relate to unreported crime have been considered, but it is important to emphasise that none of them can be expressed in terms of the current incidence of unreported crime. They are:-

- i. The number of occasions on which informants remember having been themselves a victim of certain types of offence, related to the number of occasions on which they reported the offence to the police.
- ii. The most recent recalled offence of any kind of which the informant was a victim related to whether it was reported to the police or not.
- iii. The incident of victimisation which the informant personally found the most upsetting of those he recalled (whether or not he personally was a victim) related to whether or not it was reported to the police.

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\* A national survey of criminal victimisation in the United States entailed asking informants about crimes of which they had been a victim during the twelve months preceding interview. The survey fieldwork was done in the summer and the results derived from it, relating to victimisation in each quarter of the year, were compared with the corresponding quarterly returns in the Uniform Crime Reports (crimes known to the police), for serious crimes against the person and against property, respectively. It was concluded that "in both types of crime the seasonal variations are very slight compared to the massive effects of recall, and these recall effects are more similar to each other than to their respective seasonal variations, suggesting again the power of the memory processes compared to the slight effect of seasonal variation" (Criminal Victimization in the United States by Philip H. Ennis, National Opinion Research Center, Chicago. A report submitted to the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice 1967)

(i) above is likely to provide a very considerable understatement of the number of occasions in their lives on which informants have been victimised. Since the occasions are those which come readily to the victim's mind, they are unlikely to be representative in relation to the proportion of all offences which are reported to the police.

(ii) the most recent recalled offence is likely, in fact, to be the most recent offence of which an informant was a victim, in those cases in which it took place only a short time before the interview. In practice, only about one-fifth (22%) of these offences occurred within less than a year of interview, only one-third within less than two years.

The sample was too small to enable us to consider separately for different types of offence those which had taken place very recently. Consequently the results are to a considerable extent subject to selective recall. The proportions of "most recent victimisations" reported and not reported to the police refer to the most recent memorable victimisation.

(iii) the incident of victimisation which the informant found most upsetting was selected by him, from any of the incidents he had recalled, and was quite often not one in which he personally was a victim.

The results in respect of reporting such incidents to the police, and the reasons for not reporting them, clearly refer only to these particularly disturbing incidents. No generalisations about peoples' reasons for not reporting crime can be derived from them.

It will be clear from the above that this enquiry is not directly concerned with the "dark figure" of unreported crime, but with those incidents of victimisation which people readily recall over the past years - and, in particular, with instances of victimisation which were found particularly upsetting.

## J.2 Experience of Victimisation

To find out what readily remembered experiences people have had as a victim of crime, they were first asked "Have you yourself, or your relatives, or anyone else you know well ever had a house or any other premises broken into; had anything stolen; been attacked by anyone; had anything deliberately damaged; or had anything else against the law happen to you (them)?"

The interviewer was then instructed to question the informant about each of the types of offence mentioned above separately, finding out, first, whether the informant personally ever recalled being a victim of this offence; if so, on how many occasions, and on how many of these occasions the matter was reported to the police. The informant was then asked whether he remembered any other occasions on which any of his relatives had been a victim of the offence, (but he had not). Finally, discounting any incidents in which the offence was committed against himself or his relatives, he was asked about any further occasions on which someone he knew well had been a victim of the offence.

One important purpose of finding out at an early stage about the victimisation of relatives and friends, as well as of the informant himself, was to prepare him for a later part of this section of the interview in which he was asked about the incident which he found most upsetting. It was expected that some people might have been particularly upset by an incident which they witnessed, but of which they were not personally a victim.

A single incident may, of course, entail the victimisation of several people, and/or may involve more than one type of offence. For example, a single case of house-breaking may result in loss of valuables to the informant, members of his family and/or a friend staying at the house at the time. A housebreaking may also involve an attack on one or more members of a household, and loss of valuables to the same and/or different members.

In the analyses which follow:-

(a) if a given incident involved only one type of offence, only one victim of that incident was recorded. In cases of multiple victimisation, priority was given to the informant; if the informant was not personally a victim, but a relative was, victimisation was attributed to the relative; if neither he nor his relative(s) were victims, victimisation was attributed to "anyone else he knew well". For the informant to be considered as the victim, however, he had in fact to be personally victimised. For example, if there were a housebreaking at his parents' house while he was living or staying there, he would be counted as the victim only if some of his own property were stolen (regardless of whether or not the amount stolen from him was of less or greater value than the amount stolen from his family). If nothing of his was stolen, but something was stolen from his family, then "relative(s)" would be counted as the victim(s).

Reading Table 144 horizontally, no one offence within any single incident can appear more than once. Thus, for example, 14% had themselves been victims of at least one housebreaking; an additional 25% knew of different housebreakings of which they were not themselves victims, but relatives were; and a further 26% knew of still other housebreakings in which neither they nor their relatives were victims, but someone else they knew well was a victim.

(b) if a given incident involved more than one type of offence, then one victim was recorded for each type of offence. For example, if there were a housebreaking in the course of which the informant was attacked but had none of his own property stolen, some of his parents' possessions were stolen; and deliberate damage was done to his parents' (but not to his) property - then the incident would be recorded as an attack against "self"; a housebreaking against "relatives"; and deliberate damage against "relatives".

Thus, there is no double-counting of the same incident in the horizontal lines in Table 144, but if a single incident involved more than one offence this incident can be counted in the vertical columns as many times as there were distinct offences, within the broad categories described in the Table.

Since any number of offences occurring on different occasions and with different victims might be recalled by any one informant, it is clear that the percentages in Table 144 are not additive. The appropriate calculations were made to find a) the proportion of all informants who recalled ever having personally been the victim of any offence, and b) the proportions "exposed" to each type of offence through victimisation of themselves and/or relatives and/or others well known to them. The results are given after the commentary on Table 144.

The proportions who remembered personally having been a victim of crime or knew someone else who had, are shown in Table 144 below.

Table 144  
Experience of victimisation either personally or through  
a relative or friend\*

	Self	Relative	Anyone else knows well
Base of %: All informants	1904	1904	1904
Had something stolen (that is apart from things stolen during housebreaking and so on)	31%	24%	18%
Had a house or other premises broken into (whether or not anything was stolen)	14%	25%	26%
Had something deliberately damaged	11%	7%	7%
Been attacked by someone	6%	10%	8%
Had something else against the law happen to them	5%	4%	2%

\* In any country

The crime of which the highest proportion personally recalled having been a victim was theft (other than theft in the course of housebreakings etc.). Nearly a third of all informants remembered at some time having had something stolen. Slightly less than a half of this number (14%) recalled having been a victim of housebreaking. Eleven per cent had had something deliberately damaged, and the lowest proportion (6%) had been attacked by someone. A further 5% remembered having had something else against the law happen to them.

Separate calculations show that, in all, 45% of the sample recalled being themselves the victim of one or more types of offence.

Many more than had personally been a victim of housebreaking (14%) knew of a relative (25%) and/or friend (26%) who had had their house broken into.

Rather fewer than the 31% who recalled personally having been a victim of theft remembered an incident in which a relative (24%) and/or friend (18%) had had something stolen.

There was not much difference in the proportion who recalled having themselves had something deliberately damaged and the proportion who recalled one or more occasions in which a relative or friend had been a victim of these two crimes.

The differences between the proportions remembering being victimised themselves and remembering incidents in which relatives or friends (but not they themselves) were victims is probably attributable in part to differences in the extent to which people talk about different types of offence committed against them, and the memorability of their accounts. In the case of housebreaking, it is probable that some informants had lived on the premises of relatives or friends which were broken into, but not being themselves the owners or tenants, and not having had any of their own property stolen etc., they were not personally regarded as victims for the purposes of this enquiry.

Separate calculations were made to find the extent to which people had been "exposed" to each type of offence, either directly or through the victimisation of relatives or friends. These calculations are based on first separating out those who had ever been a victim themselves; then separating from the remainder those who knew of relatives who had been victims; and separating from those still remaining, those who knew someone else who had been a victim.

This analysis showed that altogether 51% of all informants recalled having been "exposed" to housebreaking, either because they themselves had been the victim and/or they knew someone else who had.

A similar proportion (49%) had themselves had something stolen and/or knew a relative or friend who had.

Many fewer (a fifth) had personally had something deliberately damaged and/or knew of a relative or friend who had.

Also about a fifth (19%) had themselves been attacked and/or knew someone else who had been attacked.

The analysis of informants' recalled experience of certain crimes by their sex and age is shown in Table 145.

Many more men than women recalled having had something stolen from them or having their property deliberately damaged. Men were also more likely to recall a friend who had been a victim of these two crimes.

Men were more inclined than women to recall having been attacked by someone, or know of a relative or friend who had been attacked.

Analysis by age showed that the youngest age group (21-30) recalled being the victims of theft much more frequently than their elders (the proportions declined from 43% of those age 21-30 to 24% of those over 50).

Table 145  
Experience of victimisation\* analysed by sex  
and by age of informant

	Total	Sex		Age			
		Male	Female	21-30	31-40	41-50	Over 50
Base of %: All informants	1904	933	971	317	417	454	712
<u>Anything stolen</u>	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Self	31	38	24	43	33	30	24
Relative	24	23	24	30	26	24	19
Anyone else knows well	18	23	12	22	23	21	11
<u>House Broken into</u>							
Self	14	15	13	12	11	14	17
Relative	25	26	25	28	29	23	23
Anyone else knows well	26	30	22	26	29	28	23
<u>Anything deliberately damaged</u>							
Self	11	16	7	13	14	11	8
Relative	7	7	6	15	8	5	4
Anyone else knows well	7	11	4	11	8	7	5
<u>Attacked</u>							
Self	6	9	4	11	7	7	4
Relative	10	12	7	12	11	9	8
Anyone else knows well	8	11	5	12	10	6	5

\* In any country

Those aged 21-30 recalled being the victims of theft more frequently than those over 30. Otherwise differences by age-group were relatively slight.

Two possible explanations may partly account for this trend:-

(i) that over a period of years, younger people are more likely to be the victims of most offences than older people. If this were so, the period between victimisation and the time of interview would tend to be longer, the older the informant. Difficulty in recall would then tend to counteract the effects of a more prolonged exposure to risk.

This hypothesis is not inconsistent with the slight increase among those aged 41-50, and again among the over-50's, in the proportion who recall being the victim of house-breaking.

It might be expected that the victims of housebreaking would tend to be people of around middle age, with well-established homes worthy of the housebreaker's attention. If this were so, the recall period would tend to be short among the older age groups, and the true incidence of victimisation less among the younger groups.

(ii) There may in fact be more victims of theft, deliberate damage, and physical attack among the younger generation now than there were among older people when they were themselves young; if so, the victims of such offences now may tend to be found in the younger rather than the older generation. Differences in the rate of recall would in this case combine with differences in actual incidence to give an exaggerated impression of the decline with advancing age in the incidence of victimisation.

The analysis of informants' recalled experience of certain crimes by their socio-economic status and level of education is shown in Table 146.

Table 146  
Experience of victimisation\* analysed by socio-economic  
status and by level of education of informant.

	Total	Socio Economic Group					Education	
		1	2	3	4	5	Higher	Lower
Base of %: All informants	1904	97	158	434	401	328	409	1489
<u>Anything stolen</u>	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Self	31	44	48	31	34	27	41	28
Relative	24	35	29	25	20	18	27	23
Anyone else knows well	18	41	22	20	19	12	26	15
<u>House Broken Into</u>								
Self	14	30	26	18	11	7	20	13
Relative	25	34	32	27	21	18	31	24
Anyone else knows well	26	44	34	27	26	22	33	24
<u>Anything Deliberately Damaged</u>								
Self	11	23	24	11	12	7	17	10
Relative	7	12	8	7	6	6	9	6
Anyone else knows well	7	19	6	9	9	6	9	7
<u>Attacked</u>								
Self	6	8	10	6	9	6	7	6
Relative	10	13	11	10	11	8	10	9
Anyone else knows well	8	14	11	9	9	5	11	7

As one would expect, a much greater proportion of those in the higher than lower socio-economic groups and the better educated than others recalled having had something stolen; something deliberately damaged; or having been a victim of housebreaking.

There was a major systematic decline from 30% of the managerial and professional group (S.E.G. 1) to 7% of the unskilled manual workers (S.E.G. 5); and from 20% of the better educated to 13% of the less well educated in the proportions who recalled being the victim of housebreaking etc.

Similarly, the proportion who recalled having had something deliberately damaged was greater among those in the higher than lower socio-economic groups (23-24% of S.E.G. 1 & 2 declining to 7% of unskilled workers - S.E.G. 5), and among the better educated (17%) than the less well educated (10%).

There was a similar trend among those who knew of someone else who had been a victim of theft and/or housebreaking. In particular, many more of the better educated and those in the higher socio-economic groups knew of a relative or friend who had been a victim of these two crimes.

The analysis of informants' recalled experience of certain crimes by the type of area in which they now live is shown in Table 147.

A slightly higher proportion of those now living in conurbations than other areas recalled having had their house broken into; having had something stolen; or being attacked by someone.

Many more of those now living in conurbations than other areas knew of someone else who had had their house broken into.

There was also a tendency for more of those now living in conurbations to know of someone else who had been attacked or had something stolen.

Table 147  
Experience of victimisation\* analysed by type of area  
in which informant lives.

	Total	Type of Area		
		Conurbation	Other Urban	Rural
Base of %: All informants	1904	634	856	414
<u>Anything stolen</u>	%	%	%	%
Self	31	34	30	29
Relative	24	26	23	20
Anyone else knows well	18	22	14	17
<u>House Broken Into</u>				
Self	14	17	12	14
Relative	25	32	23	21
Anyone else knows well	26	35	20	24
<u>Anything Deliberately Damaged</u>				
Self	11	11	11	12
Relative	7	9	6	5
Anyone else knows well	7	10	7	5
<u>Attacked</u>				
Self	6	9	5	5
Relative	10	12	8	8
Anyone else knows well	8	10	6	7

\* In any country

### J.3 Unreported Crime

#### i) All Recalled Victimisations

Informants were asked about each of four specific crimes "How many times has this happened to you?"; "Of these, how many times was it reported to the police?" Their replies are shown below in Table 148.

As Table 148 shows, informants who recalled being the victim of theft or deliberate damage remembered, on average, a slightly greater number of occasions on which they had been a victim of these two crimes (theft - 2.0 occasions; deliberate damage - 1.9 occasions) than those who recalled being attacked (1.6 occasions) or having been a victim of housebreaking (1.6 occasions).

Table 148

The number of times informants recalled being the victim  
of certain crimes and the number of times they reported  
them to the police\*

	Anything Stolen	Anything Deliberately Damaged	House Broken Into	Attacked
Base of %: Victims of a particular crime	576	211	263	118
<u>Number of times happened</u>	%	%	%	%
Once	59	65	70	75
Twice	18	16	17	14
Three times	8	6	8	4
Four times	4	2	2	2
Five or more times	11	11	3	5
Total	100	100	100	100
Total number of times happened	1161	392	421	190
Average number of times happened	2.0	1.9	1.6	1.6
<u>Number of times reported to police</u>	%	%	%	%
Once	48	37	60	43
Twice	9	4	13	1
Three times	3	2	7	1
Four times	1	1	2	-
Five or more times	2	3	3	2
None reported	37	53	10	53
Total	100	100	100	100
Total number of times reported to police	496	147	379	80
Average number of times reported to police	0.9	0.7	1.4	0.7
% of recalled victimisations reported to police	42%	38%	90%	42%

\* In England and/or Wales

Housebreakings were more frequently remembered as having been reported to the police than any of the other three crimes. Ninety percent of all recalled housebreakings were reported to the police. This compares with 42% of all recalled cases of theft and attack, and 38% of all recalled cases of deliberate damage. Difficulties in recall, already discussed, suggest that it is very likely incidents not thought worthy of reporting to the police which tend to be forgotten. The above figures may well be substantial understatements.

(ii) The Most Recent Victimisation Recalled

Informants were questioned about the most recent occasion on which they personally were the victim of any offence. Before discussing the results, it is important to emphasise that the most recent recalled frequently took place several years before the interview. Table 149 shows the length of time since the most recent victimisation, first for the whole sample, and secondly for those who recalled ever having been victimised.

Table 149

Time since the most recent victimisation (of any sort)  
of the informant occurred

	Whole sample	Those who recalled ever having been a victim of any crime
Base of %:	1890	844
Time ago:	%	%
Under 12 months	10	22
1 year - under 2 years	5	11
2 years - under 3 years	4	10
3 years - 5 years	8	17
6 years - 10 years	6	14
11 years - 20 years	6	14
21 years and over	5	10
Not answered	1	2
Never recall having been a victim	55	-
Total	100	100

10% of the whole sample recalled having been the victim of some offence less than twelve months before the time of interview; 22% of those who recalled every having been victimised remembered an incident which took place less than twelve months ago. (The period of "under twelve months" was taken, rather than one year, because of the likelihood that some memories might be 'telescoped' into the 1 year period, when the event actually took place rather more than a year previously, and so tend to over-estimate the proportion who are annually victims of an offence).

The figure of 10% of the whole sample who were victims of some readily recalled offence in the previous year is likely to underestimate considerably the true annual proportion of the population aged 21-69 who are technically the victims of crime. It should also be remembered that, since we asked only about the one most recent victimisation, there will be included in this 10%, some people who had been the victim of two or more offences in the year.

All those who recalled having personally been a victim of crime were asked whether they reported the most recent (or only) incident in which they were involved to the police. Six out of ten informants said that the incident was reported (Table 150).

Rather fewer of those in the lower socio-economic groups and the less well educated than others reported the incident to the police (Table 150).

There was no difference in the proportion of most recent incidents reported to the police by men and by women, and by those in different age groups, and the results for these demographic groups are therefore not quoted.

Table 150

Whether most recent (only) incident against self was  
reported to police analysed by socio-economic status  
and by level of education of informant \*

	Total	Socio-economic group					Education	
		1	2	3	4	5	Higher	Lower
Base of %: All informants involved in incident against self	859	61	107	214	190	120	226	629
Incident was reported to police	60	66	63	61	58	57	65	58
Incident was <u>NOT</u> reported to police	39	34	37	38	41	40	33	41
Don't know; not answered	1	-	-	1	1	3	2	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

\* In England and/or Wales only

The proportion of cases in which the incident was not reported to the police varied greatly, as might be expected, with the nature of the offence of which the informant had most recently been a victim. (See Table 151).

Table 151

Proportion of most recent victimisations NOT  
reported to police analysed by nature of the offence

Offence of which informant was most recently a victim	% of most recent victimisations <u>not</u> reported to police	Base of %: all for whom this was most recent type of victimisation
Deliberate damage to property	61	109
Theft (not during housebreakings etc.)	44	430
Attack	44	52
Housebreaking	15	182

The results shown in Table 151 cover the four types of offence about which informants had been specifically questioned earlier on, but omit 22 cases in which the most recent instance of victimisation occurred in an accident in which more than one type of offence was committed.

In about three-quarters of these few multiple-offence incidents the case was reported to the police.

Also omitted from Table 151 are those offences originally mentioned in response to the question "Has anything else against the law happened to you?" These cover 8% of all the "most recent" victimisations, and consist mainly of victims of sexual assault (23 cases; 3% not reported); victims of dangerous driving (21 cases; 2% not reported); and of fraud (7 cases; 5 of them not reported).

The reasons given for not reporting the victimisation to the police are shown in Table 152.

Table 152

Reasons for NOT reporting the most  
recent victimisation to police.

Base of %: Did not report incident to police	331
Away from home/on holiday	36
Not serious enough	33
No point in pursuing the matter; no police around at time; usual occurrence; insufficient evidence	12
Wanted to deal with matter privately; didn't want to take it any further	10
Offender caught for another crime	6
Didn't want to get someone else into trouble	1
Afraid of further trouble	1
Afraid of police (in case they prosecuted)	1
Don't know	1
Not answered	3
Total	**

\*\* Adds to more than 100 percent as some informants gave more than one reason

Of those who had personally been a victim of crime, 13% said that the offender in the most recent or only incident in which they were victimised was taken to court, 83% said definitely that he was not, and 4% were uncertain.

The proportion of cases of the most recent victimisation known definitely to the victim not to have led to a court appearance, for each of the four types of offence about which informants were specifically questioned is shown below in Table 153.

Table 153

Proportion of cases of most recent victimisation known by victim NOT to have led to court appearance\*

Most recent offence of which informant was a victim	Proportion of cases in which offender was definitely NOT taken to court	Base
Stealing (not during housebreakings etc.)	87%	430
Housebreaking	77%	182
Attack	71%	52
Deliberate damage	91%	109

\* Excludes 22 cases in which more than one offence was committed during the same incident and also those cases in which the most recent victimisation did not fall within the four types of offence about which informants were specifically questioned.

The high proportion of between 71-91% of cases in which the offender was not taken to court was very largely due to failure by the victim to report the crime to the police, which in turn was largely attributable either to the feeling that there was no point in pursuing the matter (stolen goods would not be recovered; the evidence was insufficient; the loss realised too late; there were no police around at the time of an attack etc.), or (with about equal frequency) that the victim did not think the incident serious enough to report.

In the case of housebreaking, although as many as 85% of the incidents concerned were reported to the police, the victim stated definitely in 77% of cases that no-one was taken to court, and in only 18% of cases did he know definitely that someone was taken to court. Apart from the victim's failure to report the case, no facts were collected about the reason why no-one ultimately appeared in court, but it appears self-evident that failure to trace the offender, or to obtain adequate evidence to justify a prosecution, must have been the main causes.

In view of the fact that the most recent remembered victimisation of an informant often occurred several years before the interview, these results cannot be applied directly to the present time. It is uncertain in what ways selective recall of past events has affected the results, and they cannot be projected beyond their specific application to the most recent memorable occasion of victimisation.

#### J.4 Upsetting Incidents.

##### (i) The most upsetting incident

All those who had had contact with crime in some way either because they had personally been a victim or knew of a relative or friend who had, were asked whether they found any incident particularly upsetting at the time. If more than one incident was found to be upsetting, they were asked about the most upsetting one.

About two-thirds said that something about an incident was particularly upsetting to them. Of these, 50% said that they themselves were the victim. Thirty-three percent said that the victim was a relative, and 16% said that it was a friend.

Details of the most upsetting incident were then asked for.

Table 154

##### The worst thing about the most upsetting incident

	Total
Base of %: all informants finding any incident upsetting	916
	%
Shock at finding house ransacked	10 )
Shock at loss or damage to property	3 ) 28
Shock/fright (nothing else specified)	15 )
Mean/horrible thing to do	10 )
To think what might have happened	5 ) 22
Surprise at such a thing happening	4 )
Insecurity/feeling it might happen again	3 )
Financial loss	10 )
Damage done	6 ) 20
Sentimental loss	4 )
Disappointment in someone known to informant	8
Inconvenience	4
Injury sustained	2
Nothing else being done about it	2
Innocent people being suspected/accused	2
The violence of it	1
Other	9
Not answered	2
Total	100

In reply to the question "What do you feel was the worst thing about it?" a wide variety of answers were given (See table 154). However, the largest single group (28%) felt that the shock was the worst thing about the incident. Some specifically mentioned the shock at finding the house ransacked (10%), and at the loss or damage to property (3%), but 15% simply referred to shock without specifying any further detail.

A further 22% mentioned things which also had an element of shock or fright about them. Some thought that the worst thing about the incident was - that it was mean or horrible (10%); others were troubled by the thought "what might have happened" (5%); the surprise (4%); or the insecurity or feeling that it might happen again (3%).

A fifth thought that the worst thing was the loss or damage suffered. In particular, they mentioned the financial loss (10%); the damage done (6%); and the sentimental loss (4%).

Analysis of answers in different sub groups of the population (table not given here) showed that many more women than men (34% compared with 23%) felt that the shock was the worst thing about the incident. The same view was held by more of the older than younger informants (proportions increased from 22% of those aged 21-30 to 33% of those over 50).

Just over three-quarters (78%) said that the police got to know about the incident. The incidents which the police got to know about were nearly always reported by someone, but in 4% of the cases, the police came of their own accord, or chanced to be there when it happened.

In cases where the police did not get to know about the incident, the reasons given for not reporting the incident are shown in Table 155.

The informant (who was not, of course, always the victim of the incident which upset him most) had no idea who the offender was in 53% of cases; one in three claimed to know definitely and 11% suspected someone.

Of those who either knew who the offender was or suspected someone, 4% said that it was a relative of the victim.

Table 155

Reasons for NOT reporting the most upsetting incident to police.

Base of %: Police did not get to know about incident	156
No point in pursuing the matter; no police around at time; usual occurrence; insufficient evidence	% 24
Not serious enough	20
Wanted to deal with matter privately; didn't want to take it any further	19
Didn't want to get someone else into trouble	13
Away from home/on holiday	3
Afraid of further trouble	2
Other	11
Don't know	5
Not answered	3
Total	100

In slightly less than three out of ten (28%) of the upsetting incidents, the offender was caught, he was usually caught by the police or handed over to the police (26%), but occasionally was caught by someone else and not handed over to the police (2%).

Nearly two-thirds of all those who were caught were known to have been taken to court and found guilty, 3% were warned by the police, 2% lost their job, but 7% were not punished. Sixteen percent of informants did not know what happened to the offender after he was caught.

Of those who knew what happened to the offender, opinion was fairly evenly divided between those who thought that he got what he deserved (42%) and those who thought that he got less than he deserved (39%). Only 3% thought that he got more than he deserved.

(ii) Upsetting Incidents in Which Something was Stolen.

In 64% of the upsetting incidents something was stolen. Nine out of ten were able to give the approximate value of the stolen goods. In cases where the informant was not able to give the value, it was nearly always because the victim was someone other than himself.

Those who were able to give the value said that the stolen goods were worth:-

Table 156  
Value of stolen goods.

Base of %: Knew how much stolen goods were worth	523
	%
Under £5	23 )
Between £5 and £25	38 ) 61%
Over £25 to £50	13
Over £50 to £100	10
Over £100 to £200	6
Over £200 to £500	7
Over £500 to £1,000	2
Over £1,000	1
Total	100

As Table 156 shows, in the majority (61%) of the incidents where the value was known, the stolen goods were worth £25 or less. Twenty-three percent said that they were worth less than £5.

In 51% of the most upsetting incidents which were thefts, some cash was stolen. Seventeen percent did not know how much cash was stolen. However, those (83%) who did know said that it was :-

Table 157

Amount of all cash stolen.

Base of %: Knew how much cash was stolen	252
	%
Under £5	33
£5 but under £10	19
£10 but under £100	42
£100 but under £500	5
£500 or more	1
Total	100

Of those who said that some cash was stolen, 28% said that some of the cash was savings. In cases where cash savings were stolen, 16% did not know the amount of the stolen cash which was savings.

Those who did know said that the amount of cash savings stolen was :-

Table 158

Amount of savings stolen.

Base of %: Knew how much cash in savings was stolen	73
	%
Under £5	21
£5 but under £10	11
£10 but under £100	60
£100 but under £500	8
Total	73

Just over a quarter (28%) of all those who said that the "most upsetting" incident included theft, knew that something of sentimental value was stolen. Sixty-seven percent said that nothing of sentimental value was stolen, and 5% did not know.

In 19% of the thefts, the victim got some of the property back; in 75% he got nothing back; and in 6% it was not known whether the victim got anything back or not.

Twenty-eight percent said that some of the stolen property was insured. Sixty percent said that it was not insured. The remaining 12% did not know whether it was insured or not.

In about two-thirds (67%) of the cases in which it was known that the property was insured, a claim was made to the insurance. The result of the claim was that in -

- 36% of cases the victim got most or all of the value of the property back
- 13% of cases the victim got a good deal less
- 3% of cases the victim got nothing back
- 15% of cases the informant did not know the result of the claim

TOTAL 67% (of incidents involving theft, where it was known that property was insured)

(iii) Upsetting incident in which someone was injured or attacked

In 21% of the upsetting incidents someone was injured or attacked. In these cases informants were asked "What was the worst injury you (or anyone else you know well) suffered?" In Table 158 the numbers in the margin indicate the priorities imposed when more than one effect was mentioned. Thus, if a victim had bones broken (number 3), it would not be recorded in Table 158 if he also suffered from injuries etc. with higher numbers (i.e. concussion (4); wounds requiring stitches (5); shock (6); or bruises and/or grazes (7)).

Table 159

The worst effect of the upsetting incident (on any victim)

	Total
Base of %: Upsetting incident in which someone was injured/attacked	196
	%
6. Shock	47 ) 60
7. Bruises or grazes only	13 )
5. Wounds requiring stitches	10
1. Death, or injury which led to death	9
3. Broken bones	6
4. Concussion	3
2. Permanent disablement or disfigurement	2
Other	8
Don't know; not answered	2
	100

In classifying responses to this question, "shock" was given priority over "bruises or grazes" only, but over no other item. Some of those who suffered from shock may also have sustained bruises or grazes, but no worse injury. It is clear therefore, that 60% of those citing an incident of victimisation in which a victim or victims were injured or attacked as the one which they found most upsetting, were recalling an occasion in which either the worst injuries suffered by anyone were minimal, or the victim(s) suffered only from shock.

In view of the above results, it is not surprising to find that only 16% of the victims of injury or attack in these "most upsetting" incidents were detained in hospital for more than one night.

Seven percent said that the victim got some money in compensation, either from the offender, or from their own insurance. Eighty-one percent said that the victim did not get any compensation, and 12% did not know whether the victim was compensated.

#### J 5. Fear of Victimisation.

All informants were asked "What one crime do you most fear (are you most afraid) might happen to you?" As it is shown in Table 159 29% said that they were not afraid that any crime would be committed against them.

The highest proportion (30%) said that they were afraid of violence in general and a further 7% said that they were afraid of violence in the course of robbery.

Fairly similar proportions said that they were most afraid they might be murdered or be the victim of some other violent form of death (12%); be the victim of robbery or theft without mentioning violence (10%), or of sexual assault (8%).

The lowest proportion (3%) said that they were afraid they might be knocked down or killed by a vehicle. (Incidents of this sort might well not usually come to peoples' minds when asked about "crimes").

Men (35%) were much more inclined than women (23%) to say that they were not afraid they might be the victim of any crime. However, men (6%) were more likely than women (1%) to say that they were afraid of being knowed down by a vehicle (Table 159).

Women (12%) were much more likely than men (4%) to say that they were afraid of sexual assault; and many more women (37%) than men (22%) said that they feared violence in general.

Table 160

Crime which people were most afraid might happen  
to them analyses by sex and by age of informant.

	Total	Sex		Age			
		Male	Female	21-30	31-40	41-50	over 50
Base of %: all informants	1904	933	971	317	417	454	712
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Violence	30	22	37	27	32	31	28
Murder/violent death	12	12	12	22	12	13	6
Robbery or theft	10	10	9	9	7	8	12
Sexual assault	8	4	12	12	15	7	3
Violence in course of robbery	7	9	5	4	5	8	8
Knocked down or killed by vehicle	3	6	1	3	5	3	3
Other	1	2	1	1	3	1	1
Not answered	-	-	-	-	2	1	1
None	29	35	23	22	19	28	38
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Comparison by age showed that a much higher proportion of the youngest age group 21-30 (22%) than others (6 - 13%) said they were afraid they might be a victim of murder or some other violent form of death.

More informants under than over 40 said that they were afraid of being the victim of sexual assault (12-15% compared with 3-7%).

Those over 50 (38%) were much more inclined than others (19-28%) to say that they were not afraid they might be the victim of any crime.

When asked, in reference to the offence they were most afraid might happen to them, "What do you think are the chances of it happening?" few thought that the chances were high (see Table 160).

Above seven out of ten thought that the chances were over 1 in 100. Only 11% thought that they were less than 1 in 10; and a further 15% thought that they were over 1 in 10, but less than 1 in 100.

Table 161

Chances of the crime most feared actually  
happening.

	Total
Base of %: Fears some crime against self	1356
	%
Up to 1 in 3	6 )
Over 1 in 3, up to 1 in 10	5 ) 11
Over 1 in 10, up to 1 in 50	3 )
Over 1 in 50, up to 1 in 100	12 ) 15
Over 1 in 100, up to 1 in 1,000	20 )
Over 1 in 1,000, up to 1 in 5,000	3 )
Over 1 in 5,000, up to 1 in 10,000	28 ) 69
Over 1 in 10,000, up to 1 in 100,000	4 )
Over 1 in 100,000, almost no chance	14 )
Could happen anytime	1
Don't know; not answered	4
Total	100

1.4. Relative importance in cases of theft of catching the criminal or getting the stolen property back.

All informants were asked "In cases of theft, which do you think is more important - for the police to catch the criminal, or for them to get the stolen property back, or do you think both are equally important?"

About a third thought that it was more important to catch the criminal, only 3% thought that it was more important to get the stolen property back, 62% thought that both were equally important (see Table 162).

Women (37%) were marginally more inclined than men (32%) to think that it was more important to catch the criminal.

Those under 40 (65-66%) compared with those over 40 (59-60%) rather more often thought that catching the criminal and getting the stolen property back were equally important.

Table 162

Whether it is more important in cases of theft to catch the criminal or get the stolen property back analysed by sex and by age of informant.

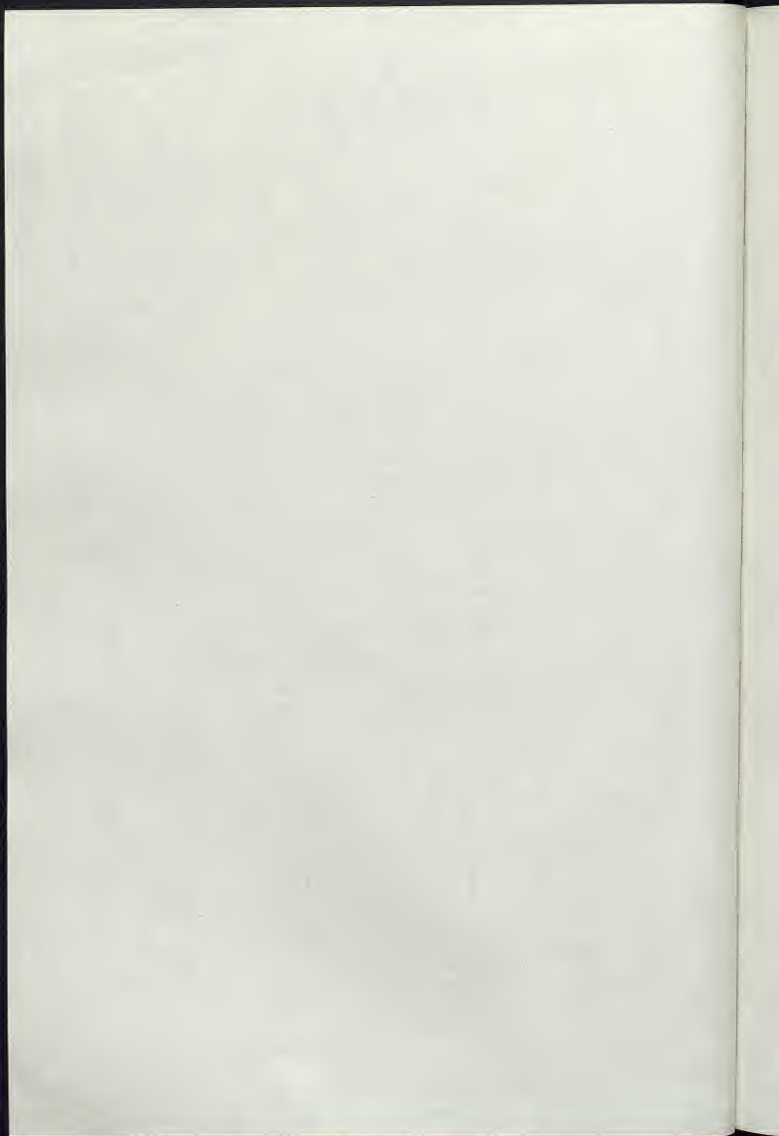
	Total	Sex		Age			
		Male	Female	21-30	31-40	41-50	over 50
Base of %: all informants	1904	933	971	317	417	454	712
Catch the criminal	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Get back stolen property	34	32	37	32	31	35	36
Both equally important	3	4	3	2	3	4	4
Don't know: not answered	62	63	60	66	65	60	59
	1	1	-	-	1	1	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table 163 shows that a greater proportion of the higher than lower socio-economic groups (52% declining to 27%), and the better educated (43%) than others (32%) thought that it was more important to catch the criminal. In particular, this opinion was held by many more of the higher managerial and professional (S.E.G.1) group than others.

Table 163

Whether it is more important in cases of theft to catch the criminal or get the stolen property back analysed by socio-economic status and by level of education of informant.

	Total	Socio-economic group					Education	
		1	2	3	4	5	Higher	Lower
Base of %: all informants	1904	97	158	434	401	328	409	1489
Catch the criminal	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Get back stolen property	34	52	35	34	29	27	43	32
Both equally important	3	6	1	4	3	4	3	3
Don't know, not answered	62	41	63	60	68	68	53	64
	1	1	1	2	-	1	1	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100



CRIME AND CRIMINALSInstructions to Interviewers1. Origin and Objects.

This inquiry was originally sponsored by and planned with the Royal Commission on the Penal System, which dissolved just after we had finished the main pilot work. It was then taken over by the Home Office, and we are fortunate in having Dr. Charlotte Banks, ex-Director of Research to the Royal Commission, now working for the Home Office Research Unit, to preserve continuity of design and purpose.

(The above information is for your own enlightenment. Do not confuse informants with the inquiry's history.)

The purpose is broadly explained in the basic introduction we suggest you use to informants:-

"As you probably know a lot of new laws are being made and old laws are being brought up to date these days. Efforts are being made to find better ways of dealing with crime and criminals. Of course, changes in the law and new methods of dealing with criminals are mainly worked out from the experience and advice of experts. At the same time, the Home Office needs to know what people who aren't (necessarily) experts feel about crime and criminals - and how much people know about what is going on now".

In other words this is, in the first instance, a descriptive inquiry intended to find out about people's attitudes to and knowledge about crime, criminals, legal procedure, penalties and treatments.

We will discuss a little more deeply at the briefing how we intend to analyse the information you get.

2. The Sample

The sample set is one of 4,000 named individuals, and is designed to be representative of all adults in England and Wales (this inquiry is NOT being done in Scotland).

The total sample is divided randomly into three, and each individual named on your address list will be interviewed on one only of the three types of schedule enclosed. The schedule-type to be used is indicated in the right-hand column of the address list (Type I, II or III). Only if your informant turns out to be aged 70 or over do you use the fourth type of schedule - a very brief version (see next section of Instructions).

### 3. Informants aged 70 and over

A very short blue schedule must always be used instead of the type indicated on your address list, if your informant turns out to be aged 70 or over. It must never be used for anyone else.

A blue schedule must always be accompanied by a schedule of the main type indicated on your address list, on which you have completed the cover page and Classification Section only. This schedule as well as the blue one must have the serial number filled in.

If you complete a blue schedule, item vi) (Interview Completed?) on the cover page of the main schedule accompanying it should be coded (5) - indicating that the informant has not been interviewed on the main schedule.

Write "70 +" in large letters at the top centre of the main-type schedule.

If you get a refusal or make no personal contact with someone whose age you have definitely established to be 70 or more, return a schedule of the type indicated on your address list, and mark it "70 +" at the top centre of the cover page. Then proceed according to the general instructions for main-type schedules - EXCEPT that for item vi) on the cover page (Interview Completed?) you should code both (5) (to indicate that there is no main schedule interview) and either (3) or (4) (to indicate that this is a non-contact or refusal, and there is therefore no blue schedule).

. . . . .

Procedure A disproportionate number of elderly people find difficulty in assimilating, and concentrating on, a long interview. Rather than have a very high non-response rate from this age group (leading to difficulty in evaluating the results) we decided to attempt to obtain from them only a very limited amount of information, which we particularly needed to have for the whole age range of the population.

It would offend some elderly people if we suggested (rightly or wrongly) that they might not be able to concentrate on a long interview, and obviously you must not let the 70 +'s know that they are being given the brief interviews because of their age.

So, if you know or think it possible, that an intended informant is aged 70 or over:-

- i. After your general introduction say words to the following effect -

"There are a great many things that we want to know about, so we are asking different lots (samples) of people about different things. The questions I am going to ask you will only deal with part of the whole subject".

(This, incidentally, is true for everybody in the sample).

ii. Then :-

- a) If you already know for certain that the informant is aged 70 or over continue -

"I'd like to ask you mainly about crimes that have happened to you or your relatives or friends - like having things stolen or damaged, having your home broken into and so on".

- and interview on the blue schedule.

- b) If you do not already know that the informant is aged 70 or over and there is any chance that he/she might be -

Find out his/her age in such a way that he/she will not be aware that the questions to be asked depend on age. Starting to fill in the household box is likely to be a good approach. Then, if the informant is not 70 or more, use the appropriate main-type schedule indicated on the address list. If he/she is 70 or more, give the additional explanation quoted under (ii) above, and interview on the blue schedule.

#### 4. The Three Types of Schedule

There are three main types of schedule :-

Type I	WHITE
Type II	YELLOW
Type III	PINK

The type of schedule (I, II or III) to be used when interviewing each person in your quota is given in the right hand column of your address list. You must use the type of schedule indicated, unless your informant is aged 70 or over, when you must use the abbreviated (blue) version.

. . . . .

Each main type of schedule contains whole sections which are identical with sections from one of the other types. In this way we have shortened each main-type interview by about one-third, and each item of information will be obtained from two-thirds of the whole sample (less those aged 70 and over). The cover page and classification section is common to all types of schedule.

The abbreviated version consists of some of the questions contained in one section only of two of the main versions ("Victims").

. . . . .

Page and Question Numbering. In Schedule-Type I (WHITE) both the page-numbering and the question-numbering run consecutively.

In Schedule-Type II (YELLOW) the page-numbering is consecutive, but we have retained the original question-numbers where sections from Type I are included. The question-numbering is therefore not consecutive all through, and you should watch the sequence of page numbers to make sure you have not turned over two pages by mistake.

Schedule-Type III (PINK) is made up entirely of sections taken from Types I and II. Again the pages are consecutively numbered, but the questions are not.

. . . . .

Look at the white schedule (Type I). You will see that after the cover page the next four pages are, respectively, numbered in the top right corner :-

I	1	I	2	I	3	I	4
II	4	III	5	III	3	III	4

This means that they are pages 1, 2, 3 and 4 of Schedule-Type I - (the White schedule you are looking at) - and that page 1 will turn up again as page 4 of the Yellow schedule (Type II); page 2 will turn up again as page 5 of the Pink Schedule (Type III), etc.

When you check, before going to an interview, that your schedule is complete and properly collated, therefore, you should make sure that the page numbers run in a complete numerical sequence according to the type of schedule you will be using :-

For WHITE schedules check the sequence of page numbers preceded by I:-

I 1; I 2; I 3, etc.

For YELLOW schedules check the sequence preceded by II:-

II 1; II 2; II 3, etc.

For PINK schedules check the sequence preceded by III:-

III 1; III 2; III 3, etc.

## 5. Studying the Schedules

Each main-type of schedule is made up of a series of subject-sections, cross-headed on the left where each section starts, and on the top right of each page of each section, with a brief indication of the subject matter. E.G. Look at Schedule-Type I (White):-

Page 1. 1 is headed "A CAUSES" on the left, and similarly on the right. Page 1. 2 is headed "B. DISINCENTIVES" in both places.

When you come to a section covering more than one page, the subject-heading is given in both places at the beginning of the section, but thereafter only on the top right. E.g. Page 1, 5 of the White Schedule starts the section dealing with courts and court procedure. It is headed E. COURTS on both left and right. Pages 1. 6 through to 1. 11 continue with the same broad subject and are headed E. COURTS on the top right only.

A given subject-section is always indetical in each of the two schedules containing it, so that when you have studie a subject-section once, you don't need to go over it question by question again. (You should, however, study how the subject-sections are woven together in different orders in the different schedules. This is intended to make for smooth interviewing, without abrupt changes of subject.)

. . . . .

### For detailed study:

- First, go right through the whole of the White Schedule  
This contains cover page; subject-section A to I inclusive, and classification.
- Then go through the following pages only of the Yellow Schedule -  
Pages 1 to 3 (Sections J and K)  
Pages 6 to 12 (Sections L, M, N and O).

You will then have studied in detail all the questions which occur anywhere in any of the three types of schedule or in the elderly people's schedule. The briefing and these written instructions will go through the sections in the above sequence.

Finally having mastered the detail, go through each type of schedule and note differences in subject-sequence. If you are bothered about the transition from any one subject to another, please raise the point at the briefing.

6. Documents etc. you need; and things to check.

Check that you have -

- i. An adequate number of schedules of each type.
- ii. Two transparent plastic bags, containing, respectively, 18 white cards (for Q.3, pages I. 3 and III. 3); and ten tinted cards (for Q.4 of the same schedules).
- iii. Two scale-prompt cards, for use in a number of cases where a sequence of several questions is to be answered on the same scale. (The two scales are: (i) "A lot of difference; Some difference: a little difference; No difference" - and (ii) "Nearly all; More than half; Less than half; Very few").
- iv. An Income Card.
- v. A supply of "Handout leaflets" to give to informants after the interview.
- vi. "Remover Replacement" Instructions (which are not incorporated in the present general instructions, and which you should take around with you until you are sure how to deal with certain situations in which informants have moved since the last Electoral Register was compiled).

The plastic bags, prompt cards and income cards should reach you all tagged together.

Check finally that the bags contain all the right cards (18 white cards describing each of the offences listed on Page I. 3 in one bag; 10 tinted cards describing each of the offences marked with letters in the last column of the same block on Page I. 3, in the other bag. (Note that the wording on one of the tinted cards (Card EF) is different from the wording on the two white cards (E & F) which it combines).

If you lose a card, or if any get bent (they are spongeable and shouldn't get dirty) ask Field Service for a replacement. DON'T write your own card to replace a lost or damaged one.

## 7. Some General Rules to be Observed throughout all Interviews

- i. Numerical answers of all sorts, if the answers are not fully precoded (including amounts of money)

If an empty box or boxes appear(s) between the tramlines on the right directly opposite the end of the question:-

- a) If an exact number or amount is given by the informant, fill it in in the box(es), (preceded by an "E" if the informant says the number or amount is "about" so-and-so).
- b) If the informant can only give a range of numbers or amounts between which he thinks the true figure falls (e.g. "between 400 and 600"; or "between £5 and £7") FIRST ASK ONCE: "Can you be more exact than that? How many would you think it is?" or "How much would you think it is?" If the final answer is still a range, fill it in on the dotted line or arrow leading to the box - or under the question if there is not room - and leave the box blank.

- ii. Capital letters (other than Y, X, A and O, which are precode-letters) alongside precode numbers or at the corner of boxes.

Don't ring these letters, but only ring the number alongside, or write the answer in the box, where applicable.

- iii. Questions with scaled answers. In all questions for which one of the two scale prompt-cards can be used, you should try without using excessive pressure to obtain a generalised answer falling within the prompted scale. Specific instructions will be given later on particular questions, and specific probes and some prompts for use under defined circumstances will be suggested.

When the prompted scale is "Nearly all; More than half; Less than half; Very few" and is used alone (i.e. not in a dependent question):-

- Code the spontaneous answer "All" and "Nearly all".
- Code the spontaneous answer "None" as "very few".

There is no need to note the fact on the schedule if either of these two answers is given. Simply ring the appropriate code.

Probe indeterminate answers appropriately. For example:- "Quite a lot" would be probed with "Would you say its nearly all; or more than half or less than half". "Some" would be probed by repeating all four items on the prompt list. "Quite a few" would be probed by repeating the last three items. "About half" - probe by asking "Would you think it was rather more than half, or rather less than half?"

- iv. Lead-ins. Underlined introductory pieces between quotation marks need NOT be read out in the exact words given. They are there as an indication to you that you need to say something to bridge the gap between different subjects. This should closely follow the sense of what is written, but can be paraphrased to suit the informant.
- v. Reassurance. It is important in order both to ensure the validity of the information we get and to preserve good public relations, that no one should finish an interview feeling they have been systematically quizzed, and found wanting. We have eliminated on the basis of the pilot results some of the original knowledge questions to which very few people knew the correct answer; also questions which presented concepts and distinctions which were difficult to many people to assimilate.

But there are many true knowledge questions; and a lot of other questions to which people may think some "experts" know the correct answer - although only the most tenuous data, or none, may actually exist (e.g. the battery of 10 questions in Section A, about the Causes of Crime).

You should reassure informants as often as you feel it is desirable that -

- a) So far as knowledge goes, we know that many people don't know the answers; and we want particularly to find out which things people know least about.
- b) As far as ideas are concerned, the "experts" often don't agree, and we want to know what the general public thinks.

- vi. Knowledge Questions. The interview is intentionally designed to provide informants with as little new information as possible. This is because a person's wrong ideas about the facts are very likely to colour his attitudes to such subjects as how criminals should be treated, etc. If he is told where he has gone wrong on factual matters, he may change his attitudes - or simply become confused. For example, if someone thinks that most prisoners have a much tougher or a much easier life than they actually do, this will tend to influence his ideas about various aspects of punishment and treatment. If you tell him where his facts are wrong, he may try to modify his previous ideas about punishment in an unconsidered way during the interview, or it may simply muddle him.

(For your guidance only there is a known correct answer to any question with one or more "K's" printed above it or between the tramlines on the schedule. Otherwise, usually, you will be dealing with matters about which there may be varying amounts of circumstantial, experimental or other research evidence, but about which there is no certain correct answer).

- vii. Factual and Opinion Questions. Fact and opinion are pretty well inextricably mixed in this schedule. Even when the factual answer to a question is known to us, many people will be giving you their mistaken beliefs (or opinions) about what the facts are. Practically nowhere are we trying to find out known "hard" facts (like who owns the house), but only the facts about what people think.

The questions are not, therefore, marked "O" or "F". Unless otherwise instructed you should treat all questions as opinion questions, using standard opinion question probing, with whatever additional probes are given in the instructions.

You will not be briefed on the facts, and if you need to indicate anything about your knowledge at all, you should say that you're not an expert in any way. You can then identify with people who are worried about their ignorance ("You seem to know more than I do"), and to people who ask you what the right answer to a question is, you can say that you don't know a lot about the subject, and you'd rather not answer in case you're wrong.

#### 8. Introducing the Survey

The introduction quoted in Section 1 of these instructions (q.v.) has been successfully used as a basic introduction for each of the three types of interview. In appropriate cases at your discretion, you should add something along the lines of :-

"We don't expect people will know much about some of the things we ask, but it's just as important to find out what isn't known as it is to find out what is known".

Obviously you won't use this if your informant is a solicitor, a police officer or otherwise directly connected with the law, but for many people plenty of reassurance will be needed, especially if they know very little. You may well need to say more about the importance of finding out what subjects people don't know about than is written in the occasional lead-in printed on the schedule to introduce knowledge sections.

You can also, at your discretion, explain that we are not asking everyone about everything we want to know, because it would take up too much of their time.

#### 9. The Schedules Question by Question

We will start with the White Schedule, and then go through those sections of the Yellow Schedule which do not form part of the White Schedule. The Pink Schedule consists entirely of sections taken unaltered from one or other of these two schedules. The elderly people's schedule consists of part of the "Victims" section common to two of the main-type schedules and we shall be dealing with these questions below.

COVER PAGE.

Serial: The first six digits to enter are the six digits of the Sampling Code given on top left of your quota sheet. The "Person Number" (last two digits) is the "Serial Number" of the original named person as given in the left hand column of the quota sheet.

If you have to take a "remover replacement" (see separate instructions about this), The "Person Number" remains the same as the serial number of the named person replaced.

- i) Interviewer's Number. Write it inside the tramlines as indicated.
- ii) iii) Enter details on the lines provided.
- iv) Total number of calls. This is the total number of calls you made at the original address PLUS any calls at other address(es) to which the named person had moved, PLUS any additional calls you make after you establish that a remover-substitute is required.
- v) Appointments broken. For present purposes an appointment is defined as one made directly with the intended informant by you, the interviewer.
- Do NOT count here appointments made for you by someone else - except another interviewer. (E.g. if a wife tells you her husband is always in on Wednesday evening and she will tell him you'll be calling next Wednesday, this is NOT an appointment for purposes of the present question).
- If, however, you see the informant, tell him about how long the interview will last, then if he says he can spare the time, say, if you call at 8 p.m. on Tuesday, it counts as a broken appointment:-
- a) if you can't find him at all that evening.
  - b) if he is at home around the appointed time, but either says he can't spare the time for an interview that evening, or breaks off the interview spontaneously to go out before the time you said the interview would take has expired.
- The borderline case of an informant being at home to keep an appointment, starting the interview, and then having visitors call unexpectedly, or in some other way having unpredictably to curtail the interview, is NOT a broken appointment. (Under such circumstances you would, of course, suggest calling again to complete the interview.)
- vi) Interview completed? Note that for non-contacts (3) and refusals (4), it is essential that items iii), iv) and v) above are completed, as well as item ix) below.

- vii) Who did remover replace ? Code (1) ("One person household") should be ringed only if the person replaced was neither a boarder, a lodger, nor the inhabitant of a shared flat. Principally, one expects, these will be people who own their own accommodation - house or flat - or who rent from a non-resident landlord, and live alone at the address. If in doubt about where to code, write in full details.

(For a definition of what constitutes a "shared flat" see separate instructions on Remover Replacements).

- viii) (Second Part). If you have an unambiguously male or female first name on your address list, there is obviously no need to inquire about the sex of the person replaced.

- ix) Refusals and non-contacts. Always give here full details of the days of the week and the times of each day you called, and the number of weeks over which calls were spread. This, together with the other circumstantial details that you are asked to give will, amongst other things, indicate to us whether a recall at some later date might be profitable. (Obvious examples: If you call once and find that an informant is ill or in hospital, and won't be fit enough to be interviewed till after you've left the sampling area; or if you call several times over a longish period and never find anyone in the informant's household at home, and can't ascertain anything about their movements from neighbours).

(Also an attempted interview which you personally feel obliged to accept as a refusal may be with someone who would be willing to be interviewed by another person at another time. For example, if you call on someone when they are particularly distressed, or anxious they may make it quite clear they never want to see your face again. You may have to accept this refusal. If you can give us an indication of what is distressing them, another interviewer calling after the tension is over may find the same person quite willing to be interviewed).

#### A. CAUSES (Page I. 1)

This page consists of the same two questions (a main question - 0. 1a - and a dependent - 0. 1b) to be asked in relation to each of ten statements (lettered A to J).

There are several other places on the schedules where you will be asking the same question or questions about several different lettered statements, united in one block. In such places, where there is only one question to ask about each statement, there should be no problem. Where they are two or more main questions or one question and a dependent, the relevant parts of the following interviewing instructions apply.

- i) Ask all the applicable questions CROSSWAYS about each item in turn before moving to the next item. (Here, ask Q. 1a about Statement A. Then, if the answer is "Yes", ask Q. 1b about statement A. Then go on to statement B, and ask both parts of the question, where applicable, about this statement before moving on to statement C.)\*
- ii) If the answers in relation to any of the statements are "Yes, this is one of the causes of crime" then: "It is one of the main causes of crime among (a specific group described in, or definitely implied by, the statement you have read out)" - then code (1) "Main cause".

Examples: Statement A: "Yes, its one of the main causes of crime amongst young people" should be coded (1).

Statement E: "Yes, its one of the main causes of crime amongst people who are not religious" - Code (1).

(This instruction applies later to several prompt-card questions)

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- \* Explanation. This intruction may be the reverse of instructions you have received for handling similar types of questions in other inquiries. When there are only a small number of questions of this type in an interview, the usual instruction is to take the questions downwards. (E.g. to start by asking the first part of a repeated question in relation to all the listed statements, and then to go back and ask the dependent(s) where applicable.) We do this normally because we suspect that some informants who want to get through an interview quickly may soon realise that if they answer a given question in a certain way, they will not be asked any more about the particular subject to which it refers. In the present inquiry questions of this type are recurrent and we felt that an astute informant would soon learn how to avoid subsidiaries if he wanted to, whatever method we used. The crossways method takes less time (because you don't have to recap. and repeat statements) and in a long interview we felt that the advantages of using the downwards technique were marginal.

The following instructions concern Page 1.1 only:-

i) How to ask the questions -

The questions are asked like this -

Interviewer "Some people say that one cause of crime is that parents do not have enough authority over children today. Do you think this is one of the causes of crime?"

Informant "Yes I do, definitely". (Ring Code (7) to statement A.)

Interviewer "Do you think it is one of the main causes, or not?"

Informant "No, its not really I don't think. The main causes are ..... (Interviewer stems flow by saying: "I'll be asking you about other causes soon".)  
(Code (4) to A.)

Interviewer "Some people say another cause of crime is that people are persuaded to buy things they don't really need, and can't really afford. Do you think this is one of the causes of crime?"

Informant "No, I don't think it lends to crime. It leads to a lot of worry though." (Ring code (6) to statement B.)

After you have been through the questions for two or three statements (enough for you to be sure the informants knows what the original wording of the two repeated questions is), you can shorten the wording (e.g. "some say ... is a cause? Do you think it is? ... "one of the main causes or not?") Towards the end, with some informants, you may find it is enough simply to read out a statement, and they will answer the questions before you ask them.

When you are using a shortened form of questioning, or merely reading out the statements you can code the single answer:- "I think that is one of the main causes of crime" (7) and (1). BUT the single answer "I don't think that's one of the main causes" MUST be probed with: "Do you think its a cause of crime at all" before you can know whether code (6) ("Not one of the causes") or code (4) ("Not a main cause") is the right one to ring.

ii) Instructions on certain types of answer.

Statements A and J. We found on the early pilot statements, from which these two statements originate that a few informants give answers like: "They've got the authority alright, but they don't use it" (possibly with some further elaboration, such as "Parents are afraid of their children these days" or "Teachers daren't punish the children in case the parents make a fuss about it").

If an informant says that Parents (A) or Teachers (J) do not exercise enough authority over children today, code as you would if he said they did not have enough authority.

Statement F. This statment is a two-dimensional concept. You may find an informant who spontaneously splits the statement in two and give different answers to each component idea. E.G. "I don't think working in boring jobs leads to crime; but I do think people turn to crime because they haven't enough to do in their spare time". This answer should be coded (2) "Other answer" and not further probed. Write the one word "Split" above the precode.

iii) Further notes.

- a) Statement not true. If an informant thinks a statement is untrue, he can't think the thing it describes leads to crime. Ring code (6).
- b) "Other answers" Other answers should first be probed by repeating the statement and asking the question again. If the ultimate answer is that whatever is described in the statement is a cause of certain types of crime (e.g. statement G may be answered along the lines of: "I think this a cause of some violent crimes"). You should then ask: "Do you think it is one of the main causes of this sort of crime or not?" and code 1 or 4, as appropriate, if you get a definite response to the probe.
- c) "Don't knows". An initial "Don't know" reply to either of the questions about any statement should always be probed with: "Well, of course nobody knows for certain about the causes of crime. What do you think, yourself?"

If you ring either "don't know" codes ( 5 or 3), after probing, write "P" to the right of the precode number you have ringed (to indicate that you have used the above probe).

. . . . .

## B. DISINCENTIVES (P. I. 1)

Use the appropriate scale prompt card for this page.

Here, and when you first introduce the other scale prompt-card (P. I. 4, Q.6), ask first about statement A. using the full printed prompted version of the question. Then say "I'm going to ask you some more questions about....." (Here, "about the amount of difference you think various things would make to the number of people breaking the law") ..... It might save time if you had this card ....."

Here, after completing asking the full prompted question for statement A, ask about statement B in abbreviated form:- "How much difference do you think it would make to the number of people breaking the law if the police improved their methods of catching people who had broken it? Which of the answers on the card comes nearest your opinion?"

In many cases you may find it adequate after you've asked about two or three of the statements to abbreviate still further, e.g. "How much difference if the shops did not display their goods so openly?" Your informant will have got the hang of the repeated question, and you won't need to refer him to the prompt-card scale.

But, although you should keep the interviewing as free-flowing as possible in these multi-statement questions by avoiding unnecessary repetitions - you must be on the look out for misunderstanding, and go back to using the full printed prompted version repetitively unless the informant has quite clearly grasped, and continues to hold in mind, what you are asking about.

Qualified answers. Qualified answers are ultimately perfectly acceptable.

BUT - answers which indirectly ask you to expand a statement in order to make it easier for the informant to answer it should not be taken as qualified without further probing. For example, (statement A): "It depends how much bigger they made the police force" should be probed with "Supposing they increased it quite a bit". or (Statement B): "It depends whether the improved methods really succeeded in catching more people" - probe with "Supposing they were successful".

In general your assumption on which to base probing of qualified answers should be -

- A. police force increased substantially
- B. improved methods of catching people succeed in catching more people.
- C. a) a "serious crime" is what the informant thinks of as "serious".  
b) the prompt-scale refers to changes in the number of people committing serious crimes.

D,E,F. No special assumptions but never accept the answer "They wouldn't/couldn't/won't do it" without probing with:- "It may seem unlikely, but supposing they did, do you think .... etc". (You may find this applies particularly to F. where the first answer could be along the lines of "Supermarkets, chain stores and so on have got to keep their goods on open display. They wouldn't do it/couldn't keep going if they did it ....")

(This instruction applies to earlier statements, but we have no indication that you are likely to find people saying that the earlier things couldn't possibly happen).

- G. If this statement is not understood by an informant, explain it along these lines:- "One prison for people who are sent to prison for the first time and for people who have never done anything you would call serious (even if they've been to prison once or twice before); and another prison for people who've committed what you call serious crimes".

Obliquely qualified answers (without stated qualification). By this we mean answers along the lines of, e.g. "It would make a lot of difference to young shoplifters"; "It would make some difference to the sort of people who are not professional criminals".

If the informant answers in this way, code as if the answer applied in general to the "number of people breaking the law", without further probing. (The reason behind this instruction is that many people are likely to give a generalised answer though in fact they may have in mind a particular sort of law-breaker who will be affected. If those who happen to state that they are thinking of one particular sort of law breaker were then asked to generalise about all law breakers it would probably mean that were singling these people out for special treatment because they had been slightly more articulate than others).

All other qualified answers should be probed with "In general" or "on the whole" before you accept them as qualified.

#### C. RELATIVE SERIOUSNESS AND FREQUENCY OF OFFENCES. I. 3.

Q. 3. The routine instructions for handling this question are printed on the schedule. Note that the cards for Q. 3 are not identical with those for Q.4. Seven of the Q. 3 cards are omitted for Q. 4, and cards E and F for Q. 3 are combined in card EF for Q.4.

The routine method described on the schedule is quickest and leaves the shortest possible interval while you are recording and the informant is waiting with nothing to do. But is is only suitable if your informant is literate and you are sure he has fully understood what he is meant to do. If you are sure of this let him sort the cards into two piles, with the offences he thinks are serious on his left and those he thinks are not serious on his right. Then take the two packs back, and BEFORE you code anything give him the second set of cards, and ask Q.4.

Ring the appropriate codes in Column A while he is sorting the second (Q.4) pack.

Q. 4. Where there is a DNA in Column B, there is no card for the frequency ranking (Q.4.). The letters on the cards which are included in the frequency ranking pack are written to the right of Column B, for easy reference.

Make quite sure that informants understand Q.4. We want the offences ranked in the order of frequency with which the informant thinks people are accused of the various offences in a court, (and not the relative frequency with which they are done, or the relative proportions of those who do them who are accused in court). The question as it has finally been rephased seems unambiguous, but if you have any doubts at all as to whether the informant understands it, explain it in an appropriate colloquial version of the explanation given above.

Equal rankings. If an informant thinks that about as many people are accused of a given offence as are accused of two or more others, FIRST ask him: "What's your general impression about these (two) offences? Which one do you think the biggest number are accused of?" If he feels he can't, even impressionistically, distinguish between the numbers accused of two or more different offences, accept an equal ranking.

Equal rankings should be entered on the schedule as follows. Supposing your informant has placed in order the four offences with which he thinks the largest numbers of people are accused. He then gives you three cards describing offences with which he thinks about equal numbers are accused. After probing he still feels he can't distinguish between the three.

You then enter 1, 2, 3, 4 against the four offences he has placed in order, and 5 =; 5 =; 5 =: against each of the three offences which he thinks are equally frequent.

He then gives you a single card which he thinks describes the offence with which the next largest number of people are accused (i.e. fewer than for any of the three "5 =" offences, but more than for the next card).

You do not enter "6" for this offence, but the number you would have reached if there had been no equal ranking - that is "8".

Examples: i) 1 2= 2= 4= 4= 6 7 8 9 10

ii) 1= 1= 3 4 5 6= 6= 8 9 10 etc.

Refusals or DK's to Q.4. Pilot work suggests that there may be a very few people who decline to attempt this question at all, saying that it would all be sheer guess-work if they did. You should not try to persuade them to guess, but ask them if they feel they "can pick, say, just the offence with which the smallest number of people are accused - or the largest number". If this works, you may be able to carry on with a partial ranking. In any case, if you come across someone with this attitude it is more useful to have him rank only the most frequent (1) or least frequent (10), than not to rank at all.

Partial rankings (or refusals or DK's) are quite distinct from complete rankings which include some equally ranked items. For the former, you explain what happened in the blank space on the left under Q.4. If the informant can do a partial ranking (e.g. most and fewest people accused), enter the appropriate number(s) against the offence(s) he can rank, and leave the rest blank.

FINAL WARNING NOTE. Make quite sure you don't enter the ranking numbers backwards on. The offence with which the largest number are accused is ranked "1", and so on downwards to "10" for the offences with which the smallest number are accused.

This may sound elementary, but we have found that some people's firm ideas are so wrong that we shouldn't be able to tell for certain if you had ranked backwards. So, when the informant hands you back the sorted pack, make quite sure you know whether it is the top or the bottom card that he thinks describes the offence with which the largest number of people are accused !

If a ranking looks odd (e.g. if an informant thinks more people are accused of murder than of common assault), state in the blank space under Q.4. that you have checked that he has understood the question and that the ranking starts with the offence with which he thinks the largest number are accused. (We shall return and query schedules that show gross misinformedness on this question, unless we have your written assurance that you have made these checks).

D. CHANGES IN INCIDENCE AND DETECTION I. 4.

Q's, 5 and 6. Ask both of these questions about Crime A (Murders). Hand informant the second prompt cards ("Nearly all; More than half" ... etc.) and say that you will be asking the same two questions above five other crimes - "It might be easier if you had the card in front of you, so there's no need to keep on repeating the same thing when I ask you the second question".

Continue to ask both questions about each crime before going on to the next crime.

These questions should not be asked in abbreviated form for later crimes, apart from omitting the verbal prompt in Q. 6 when you feel sure the informant knows how to use the prompt card. The distinction between the number of crimes committed (Q. 5) and those known to the police (Q. 6) needs to be kept constantly in the informant's mind.

E. COURTS I. 5 to I. 11

General. This section contains a large number of knowledge questions. It is the section most likely to make some informants feel they are being quizzed and made to show their ignorance. Reassure such people as often as you think it desirable along the lines on pages 6 to 7 of the instructions (para v, and end of para. vii).

Question wording and standard probe. To avoid monotony we've used the phrase "Do you think" in some questions, but not in others. You can introduce the phrase "do you think" anywhere where you feel it is appropriate. If you don't use it, and the initial answer is "Don't know", always probe: "What do you/would you think ...?" Don't ask directly for a guess unless specifically instructed.

Lead in. The lead-in explanatory pieces printed on the schedule need not be used exactly as they stand, and if your informant is an "expert" (magistrate, policeman etc.) you obviously won't use the original form of the first introductory piece. Instead, you could say that many people know very little about the subject, so some of the questions will sound very elementary to him - (your knowledgeable informant).

The last phrase in the main introduction to the section "to find out what things are not generally known" is suitable for someone who you judge will not know many of the answers. For in-between cases say .... "to find out what things are, and what things are not, generally known".

Q. 7. We find that a few people don't know the meaning of some words we have to use in an inquiry about the law. Be prepared to explain, for example, "found guilty" ("this means that he is convicted" or "this means it is proved that he did what he was accused of doing"); and "sentenced" ("this means the punishment they decide to give").

Q. 8. In your role as a non-expert you may want to preface the lead-in to this question with some such phrase as: "I am told that ....". As usual, you can vary the phrasing of the lead-in to suit the informant.

Q. 11. If it helps refer to the prompt card which you have given the informant earlier on.

Q. 12 ii. Repeat the whole of Q. 12 i, substituting "judge's court" and "judges" for "magistrate's court" and "magistrates" if the abbreviated "And how about judges....?" is not immediately understood.

Q. 13. You can explain "pleading" if necessary as "He has to say that he's guilty, or that he is not guilty to the magistrate or judge".

Q. 14. A difficult concept for people who know little about what does on in court: and a lot of words for the informant to assimilate. Go back over the question slowly whenever necessary.

Q. 15 ii. You will probably need to read out the underlined preamble to Q. 15 before part ii as well as part i, in many cases.

Q's 15 ii and 16 ii. What we mean by these questions is do they have a lawyer (barrister or solicitor) to represent them. But the meaning of these words is by no means universally understood.

If the answer to either question is "Yes" check: "Do you mean a lawyer, or were you just thinking of someone who knows them, such as the vicar or their employer". If "Lawyer" isn't understood, explain as "someone to do with the law whose job it is to represent people accused of offences". Code according to the informant's opinion on whether people have lawyers to represent them.

Q. 19. Cut short anyone who, only partly getting the point of this rather long question, starts talking about judges or higher courts. Say that you are talking at the moment only about magistrates' courts - where the less serious offences are tried - and you will be coming on to judges next.

Q. 20. We have not kept on continually repeating in the question that magistrates try the less serious offences and that judges try the more serious ones. But you should make the distinction if there is any indication that the informant has lost track of it.

N.  
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Q's 21 to 23. No obvious snags. But be sure to ask the appropriate dependents (a, ai) to Q. 21 and Q. 21a as instructed on the schedule.

Q.24. Use the full prompted version as printed in part A until the informant realises what the repeated part of the question is an answers spontaneously without prompting.

N.B. THIS  
INSTRUCTION  
IS NOT MADE  
CLEAR ON THE  
SCHEDULE.

Q.25. Ask about a. to e. in turn. Ask the question as printed first, then, if you are not told spontaneously, ask in what country the court or courts were. Finally, if the informant has been in any court in England or Wales, ask: "What type(s) of court have you been to (to watch what was going on etc.) in England or Wales?"

If an informant has been in a Scottish, Irish, military or foreign court in any of the capacities listed, code "Other", and if he has only been in these sorts of court, do not code anything else.

For any of parts a to e "Other" may be multi-coded with one or more of the preceding three codes, if he was in court on a different occasion and the court was in England or Wales.

"Higher Court, "Magistrates Court, or "Juvenile Court" should only be coded if the informant has been in a court of this description in England or Wales.

Part e ("For any other reason"). This part is intended to cover miscellaneous people who are familiar with courts in a professional capacity or as part of their job - judges, policemen, probation officers, etc.

NB. There is no precode for persons who have been inside courts(s) in England or Wales in any capacity, but do not know what type(s) or court(s) they have been in. It seems an improbable situation, but if you do get this response, write in "D.K. which type(s)" in the space between the precode for "Magistrates Court" and the precode for "Juvenile Court".

Q.26 a. Probe imprecise answers such as: "A committee", or "An expert on crime" with "What sort of people should be on the committee?" or "What sort of expert?"

Some informants will know that persons sentenced to terms of imprisonment already obtain remission of one third of their sentence for good conduct. Don't raise this point yourself; but if an informant raises it, explain the original question as follows :- "I mean should some people be sentenced by a judge or magistrate to prison, but the judge not say how long the sentence will be. Then, after a person has been in prison for a time, the length of sentence should be decided?"

Q. 28. Some people may not agree with fines at all because they think they're useless. If you get such an answer, code "Other answer" (b) and record the comment.

F. DRIVING I. 12.

No particular snag, but study this page carefully to make sure you know when to ask which dependent questions.

G. PRISONS I. 13 to I. 22.

General. i) Although this section contains several knowledge questions to which many people don't know the right answer, it does not appear to produce the feelings of being made to appear ignorant which the Courts section sometimes does. Nonetheless, use the same sorts of reassurance where needed.

ii) Follow previous instructions given about using the phrase "Do you think", at your discretion, when it is not actually written into a question; and probe "How many/how much do you think ..." if you have not already used the phrase, and the initial answer is "Don't know".

iii) Follow the general instructions on P. 7 (Section 7) when entering the answers to questions about numbers and amounts.

P. I 14 in general. Study this page carefully so that you know which dependent questions (and dependent-dependents) to ask.

The very last question on the page is not signposted at all. Please write in your own arrow from Q.bi (iv) to the underlined heading of b ii.

Q. 35. You may well have to repeat the three statements before the informant assimilates this question.

Q. 35a. If the informant initially gives two or more reasons ask: "Which of these is your main reason?" If he thinks two or more reasons equally important, code "Other answer" (4) and specify, indicating with a (P) that you have probed unsuccessfully for one main reason. Do not ring more than one code.

Q. 36. The question asks how long prisoners spend locked in their cells. However, if an informant says spontaneously they spend a certain number of hours in their cells not LOCKED in, and a certain number locked in, record the full answer.

Answers indicating that the number of hours varies from day to day (but not indicating what particular days of the week are different from others) should first be probed with: "How long on most days?", but if the informant clearly has the idea that there are specific days of the week when prisoners spend less or more time locked in, specify the full answer (e.g. "Only at night over the weekend. About 15 hours on weekdays").

Q. 40. DO NOT use the standard " Anything else" probe here, but pause after first answer and code all that apply if the informant mentions more than one thing. (The point of this unusual instruction is that if you use the " Anything else" probe, the informant may forget that the question refers only to exercise prisoners are obliged to take.)

Q.41. This question has only been very sketchily piloted. Do not prompt any activities other than those given in brackets in the fourth line of the question. If the informant spontaneously asks "do you include (a given activity - other than eating)?" , say "Yes".

Describe activities spontaneously mentioned to the left of the precodes. Give the informant's estimated total time whether or not he asks if particular activities count.

If the spontaneous answer is " A different number of hours at weekends (or on any particular day) than on other days", code as "Qualified answer" (X) and specify the number of hours the informant thinks prisoners spend out of their cells on the exceptional and on the other days, naming the days in each case.

Q. 42a, b and Q. 43a, b. These dependent questions, like the two main questions (Q's 42 and 43) refer by implication to most men in prison :-

- i) Don't accept qualified answers to either Q's. 42a or 43a which say, in effect, "some are allowed more than others" without first probing: "How many do you think most prisoners can send/receive?"
- ii) But in Q's 42b and 43b, in which you are asking how many letters prisoners should send/receive, qualified answers along these lines are acceptable, but you must probe (if it is not already clear) to find out what sort of prisoner the informant thinks should be allowed to send/receive different numbers of letters.

Q. 43a and b.

- i) Code (Y) - "Limited, but no idea of limit" is for use only after you have probed an answer of this sort in part a. with "About how many do you think they can receive?" or in part b. with:- "About how often do you think most prisoners should be allowed letters.
- ii) In stating the number per month enter "Once a week" as "4", and "Once a fortnight" as "2". There is no need to say on the schedule if you have done this, or to check these two answers in any way with the informant.

Q.44 a and b. The same instructions apply as to Q.43 (but note that the precodes are not identical in the two questions).

Q.45 a and b. Use the standard "Anything else" probe; code all answers given; and allow plenty of time for this question.

Q.48. Use the word "severe" in this question unless the informant does not understand it. Only then explain that by "severe" you mean "strict".

Please cross out the word "severe" if you need to use "strict". The two words are not strictly speaking synonymous, and "severe" is the meaning we want to convey. "Strict" savours of school or army type discipline, but you may have to use it with some informants.

An answer meaning that prisons as a whole should be more severe in some ways and less severe in others should be coded (5). Specify in full in which ways the informant thinks they should be more severe, and in which ways less severe.

Q. 49. "Under supervision" in this question means "on parole" (i.e. that some prisoners may be let out knowing that an eye is being kept on them, and that they are liable to be called back to prison (on their original sentence) if they do anything against the law, or fail to report when required, or break any other conditions of their parole). Only explain this to the informant if he doesn't follow the question; and if you do explain write "EXPLAINED" to the left of the precodes.

Q.50. If an informant asks: "What sort of help do you mean?" say "Any sort of help".

Q's. 51a and 52a.

- i) Don't try to probe a spontaneous "It depends" answer into a positive "Yes" or "No". But if the informant says simply "It depends" always probe "What would it depend on?"
- ii) Codes (3) and (4) may both be coded, if the informant says it would depend both on the sort of crime he'd committed, and what he was like personally. With this exception, each part of these two questions must be single-coded.
- iii) Code (2) takes precedence over other codes for multi-codeable answers other than those described above.
- iv) Bracketted words in C, G, H, J, K are, of course, for use only if applicable to a given informant.

Q's 51b and 52b. The "b" parts of these two questions are rather obscurely placed. Don't miss them, and ask the "b" parts even if the answer to all of the main parts of the question are "No" (Q. 51a) or "Yes, would mind" (Q. 52a).

(Column (b)  
in each Q.)

Q. 56b. This is a question to which few people are likely to know the correct answer, but many may have exaggerated ideas. Hence the instruction of the schedule to ask people to guess. We are aiming partly at finding out how many people have wildly exaggerated ideas.

Q. 57. This question refers to escapes from open prisons plus all other prisons. If you have asked Q. 56b, check that the informant has included open prisons in the total he gives for Q. 57.

Note: Only if the informant raises a query, explain that Q's 56a and 57 are not intended to include places of detention other than prisons (Borstals, Detention Centres).

Q.60. As near a verbatim answer as possible, please. Anything that has given the informant the feeling of being shut in counts here, even though occasionally, when someone is describing a particular psychological symptom there may be no apparent connection between the circumstances they describe, and feeling "shut in".

#### H. CHARACTERISTICS OF HABITUALS I. 23

Q. 61a and b. Both parts of this question (when both are applicable) should be asked for characteristic A, before passing on to characteristic B: and so on from C to D.

You will already have given your informant the scale prompt card (from "Nearly all" to "Very few") so you can refer him to it at the beginning of this section.

Look back over the instructions to Part A I (CAUSES) for further information on how to handle the present section. You can vary ("Some think" ..... "Others think" .... "Other people think") the early part of the wording of the a) part of the question, and you can shorten the whole of the wording when you are sure your informant has grasped what the repeated questions are.

It is very important however, that the informant should not lose sight of the fact that you are asking about habitual offenders only throughout this section. So, even when the informant has apparently grasped what the repeated questions are, ask the a) part of the question in full, emphasising the words "habitual offenders" at least once in every three times throughout.

#### I. VICTIMS I 24 to 30.

This can be a very time-consuming section for informants who have been (or have a relative or friend who has been) the victim of a crime which particularly upset them. But these people will be interested in spending time telling you what happened, and will not be in a majority anyway. For others the section is quite short, and, after enumerating crimes that have been committed against themselves personally, and saying whether or not crimes have been committed against any of their relatives or people they know well, they have only a short interview on this section.

Q. 62 (P I. 24) First, look at the instructions printed on the schedule very carefully.

Notice that for crimes committed against the informant himself we need to distinguish between those committed in England or Wales, and those committed elsewhere (Scotland, Ireland, or abroad). This is because the inquiry is concerned with England and Wales, and, more specifically, because (P. I. 25) we want to find out how many people have offences committed to them about which the police are not told. (The reasons for not reporting an offence are manifold).

The following instructions are very important:-

- i) Count a crime as committed against the informant (a. "Yourself") if any offence was committed against him, even though there may have been a more serious offence committed on the same occasions against, say, members of his household. For example, if the family's house was broken into, all his parents' valuables were stolen, but he personally only lost a transistor radio (or was tied up while the house-breakers finished the job) this counts as an offence against him, and NOT against his parents.
- ii) In the Main Box (A to E). For crimes against "Yourself" ONLY, you should count each offence committed on any one occasion against the informant. For instance a housebreaking in which the informant was attacked, had some of his property deliberately damaged, and was tied up and told he would be released and not further assaulted if he paid a certain sum of money, would appear under A, C, D and E.
- iii) For anyone other than the informant (Columns b and c) there should, on the contrary, be no double-counting for the same incident. Any one incident counts only once, and should be coded against the earliest offence-letter in the list that applies. For example, if exactly the same thing had happened to a relative as the incident described in para. i) above, it should be coded on line A only.\*
- iv) In the "Yourself" column (where you count every offence against the informant in every incident), give priority to the informant, and state in brackets the number of occasions on which the things you have counted occurred inside England or Wales. You must sort out with the informant how many separate incidents there have been (however many distinct offences may have been committed against him during the same incident) WHICH TOOK PLACE IN ENGLAND OR WALES; AND HOW MANY OF THESE WERE REPORTED TO THE POLICE.

Enter the appropriate numbers in the boxes under the second and third columns, respectively, of "a. YOURSELF".

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\* This instruction was modified at briefings in such a way that the interviewer was instructed to treat offences in columns c and d in the same way as those in column a, i.e. an incident in these columns might include two or more separate offences if these offences were not also committed against the informant in the same incident.

P I. 25 to 26. Q's 63 to 73b. Read the instructions on the schedule very carefully.

Notice that there are three points at which you omit a considerable number of questions :-

- i) PI 25. If there are no offences occurring in England or Wales and committed against the informant, the whole of this page is omitted.
- ii) PI 26. If no offence has been committed against anybody (self, relative, or person well known) in any country, you omit four pages and go on to page I 30.
- iii) PI 26 Q. 67. If there was nothing which the informant found particularly upsetting about any of the offences you have counted, you omit the rest of page 26, and pages 27 to 29.

General point - Responsibility. If the informant thinks that he or whoever he is talking about was responsible or liable for the goods stolen, or property broken into or damaged at the time of an incident, even though the goods or property were his/their employer's or temporarily in his care (as part of his/their job, or because he/they had rented or borrowed them) you should treat the incident as if the goods or property were his/theirs.

Q. 63. DESCRIPTION. The following points must always be included in the description:-

- a. Whether or not the victim was present at the time of the offence (e.g. thefts, breakings and damage may well take place in the victim's absence).
- b. Whether or not anyone was hurt and/or threatened.
- c. If anyone was hurt, the informant's views about the seriousness of their injury.

Apart from prompting for these three items, if necessary, the description should be unprompted and unprobed. You may, however, need to cut a very long story short by saying tactfully that you only need to know what actually happened. (e.g. if an informant rambles on with a long circumstantial story about how everyone involved was related to one another, and came to be in the place of the incident).

Q. 64. If the incident took place within the 24 months preceding the interview, try to help the informant to recall exactly when it was, and record a precise time.

Times between 24 months and five years ago should be rounded to the nearest six months. Times over five years ago should be rounded to the nearest year.

Always enter "0" in the "Years" box if the incident took place less than 12 months ago. And enter "0" in the "Months" box if it took place over five years ago.

Q.65. Treat this question as factual and vary the wording in such a way as not to make it sound inquisitorial to a particular informant (e.g., if appropriate, ask: "Why didn't you report it to the Police?")

Q.66. This question is asked of everyone who qualified for this page. An offender may be taken to court without the matter being first reported to the police.

Q. 68. See instructions to Q. 63.

Q. 69. Open question, which, judging from the pilot, may frequently produce a response which has no direct connection with the legal heinousness of the offence.

Q. 70. A vague or imprecise answer (e.g. "8 to 12 years ago"; "Many years ago") is more useful than "Don't know". Always probe an initial "Don't know" with "About how long ago?"

Q. 71ai. See instructions to Q. 65.

Q. 73a. Do not prompt, but use the probe "Did anything else happen to him?" Code all that apply.

P. I 28. If you don't already know for certain from the description, ask informally before starting this page: "Was anything stolen?"

Q. 74. refers to the total value of everything stolen - goods, plus cash, if any.

Q. 75. refers to cash only, and if any cash was stolen, attempts to split the amount stolen into savings, and other cash. "Cash" means specifically money - not such things as Post Office Savings Books, etc.

Cheques, cheque books, Savings books etc. (any document by the use of which payment may be made to a thief, but on which payment can be stopped by the victim of the theft and covered by correspondence with a bank, etc.) does not count either as cash, or in the total value of things stolen.

Q. 77. "Property" here includes cash, as defined above.

Q. 79. Other things being equal, the worst that applies is the item highest on the precode list that applies. But if the informant spontaneously tells you that the worse thing that happened was that, for example: "The old lady was badly shocked and she's never been quite herself since", code for "shock" (3), write in the verbatim answer, and prompt the earlier items. If any of the earlier items do apply, write in details, but do not code again.

Q. 81a. However this question is phrased you are liable to get answers like "Taylor's" or "Edgware Road". Treat as a factual question, using codes 4, 5 and 6 as your main guide in establishing the source.

Q. 82. Although this question asks about the crime which the informant most fears might happen to him, pilot work shows that some people are most afraid of something happening to someone else close to them (e.g. wife, child or fiancée), which they feel would affect them directly and personally. They therefore answer the question in such terms as "I'm afraid my young daughter might be attacked".

Accept such answers, but make it quite clear in all descriptions whether the offence described is one which the informant fears might happen to him personally, or to someone else close to him. If the latter, say what the relationship is.

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#### YELLOW SCHEDULE (II)

This completes the instruction for the while schedule (apart from classification, which is common to all schedules and will be discussed last).

We will now take those parts of the yellow schedule which are not also included in the white one.

#### J. NATURE OF SENTENCE (FIRST OFFENDERS) II. 1

Q. 84a and b. Follow the same procedure as in Q. 61a, except that on the yellow schedule you will be introducing the "Nearly all... Very few" scale-prompt card to the first time. This means that you will need to explain the card, as instructed when it was first introduced on the white schedule (I. 4. Q.6). Always take the two questions crossways for each description before moving on to the next.

- Note: i) First offenders are likely to be equated with young offenders in many people's mind. If you are asked "Do you mean teenagers (etc.)" say: "Including the yes - anyone who is found breaking the law for the first time, but hasn't injured anyone".
- ii) In descriptions B and C note that borstal is specifically mentioned as well as prison.
- iii) If Detention Centres and/or approved schools are mentioned in response to B and C they should be counted (along with prison and/or borstal). In fact by both B and C we mean "put away". But this phrase was found in the pilot to be too emotionally coloured for use in a question.
- iv) If any parts of the question are answered with some such phrase as "Over half the teenagers" (e.g. to B or C) do not accept immediately as a qualified answer, but ask "How many of all first offenders who have not injured anyone?"
- v) If you get an answer like "To people who need it" or "anyone who hasn't got a reasonable job" to D ask: "Amongst those who need it/haven't got a reasonable job, how many do you think should be given any help or advice they need in getting one?"

Q. 85 and 85a. These questions have not been very fully piloted. They are meant to be taken to refer to different types of penalty from those listed in Q. 86: and/or to types of penalty listed there which the informant has said he does not think should be given to any first offenders who have not injured anyone; and/or to an increase in the proportion who the informant said in Q. 84 (b) should be given a particular penalty.

Only if the informant asks, go back over his answers to Q. 84a and b.

We do not expect Q. 85a to provide very precise answers. But vague replies such as "More severely"; "They should have worse punishments" etc. must always be probed with: "What sorts of punishments are you thinking of?" Indicate by a bracketted (P), as usual, if you have probed an answer of this type and got no more definite response.

#### K. PURPOSE OF SENTENCING II. 2.

Q. 86 a and b. Ask both repeat questions (when both are applicable) about the first statement (A), before going on to statement (B), as in other similar-type questions.

If the answer "They should be trying to do it, but in my opinion its impossible" is given to any part of the question ask: "How important do you think it is that they should try to do it?", and code the answer to this contingency question.

Q. 86b. The present phrasing will probably be adequate in most cases. If you find it gives rise to queries or quibbles ask in extended, explicit form "Do you think it is very important or only fairly that they should be trying to do this?"

Q. 86c. Fairly complex instructions are printed on the schedule about this question, so make sure you have assimilated them.

Double rings. Make double rings thick, and as concentric as possible. (They're easily overlooked in punching if they are faint).

Q. 86d. The circumstances under which you ask this question are not clearly signposted from the appropriate codes in Q. 86b (F). Underline codes 1 and 2 in Q. 86b. Column b., line F. to remind you to ask the question when either of these codes is ringed.

#### K. PURPOSE OF SENTENCING II. 3.

Q. 87. You may well need to read this question over again before the informant assimilates it properly.

Use the printed probe whenever a direct choice (of A or B) is not made.

With qualified answers along the lines of: "Severe punishment's the most important for some criminals; for others understanding is more important than punishment", use the additional probe: "Which comes nearest your opinion about most men who break the law?" before coding "qualified answer".

#### L. REASONS FOR BECOMING HABITUAL OFFENDERS II. 6.

Q. 88a and b. Ask crossways, using the prompt card, as with all other repeated questions of this type. The question wording can be shortened as in other similar-type questions when you are sure the informant has followed what the repeat-questions are.

But, since the questions refer only to those men who keep on breaking the law after they have been in prison, use the full wording of part a. at least once in every three times you ask it - to make quite sure the informant is still thinking about this group only.

Whenever appropriate remind an informant giving what would otherwise be a "qualified answer" that we are talking about everyone who keeps on breaking the law after being in prison. Does he think (repeat relevant statement) is true for nearly all, more than half, less than half, or very few of all these people.

#### M. REDUCING HABITUALS.

Q. 89 a and b. Ask crossways and follow instructions already given. Use prompt card.

Q. 89 c. Make sure you know when this question applies.

The "sort of offender" may be expressed either in terms of the type of offence committed, or in terms of the age or other personal characteristics of the offender (or in both terms). E.G. "Bring back the birch" (1st Col.) "For teenagers who go around bashing old women" (2nd Col.); or "Make them mend the telephone boxes themselves"; "Anyone who breaks them. I Don't know who does it".

#### N. AGGRAVATING AND EXTENUATING CIRCUMSTANCES II. 8 to II. 10.

Q. 90 A-F, Q. 91 G-J, Q. 92 K-M. Ask each question in exactly the words printed; make no assumptions or interpretations of the response.

If, for example, you are asking Q. 90 A, the spontaneous answer may be "The one who has been convicted before should get more". If so, code (5) and proceed to B. If the answer is, e.g. "The one who's been convicted before should get more, and the one who hasn't should get let off lightly" code both (5) and (4), but DO NOT EVER ask: "What about the other person?" if the informant has said that he thinks one or other should get either more or less punishment.

Thus any single code may be ringed for any one of these questions. Two codes can only be ringed if the informant spontaneously says that one person should get more, and also that the other should get less. Then, and then only a pair of codes will be ringed in the first two columns - either codes (1) and (2) or codes (4) and (5). Other combinations are impossible.

Different type of punishment (Code 6). This code is likely to apply principally when (as in C and D) there is a suggestion that one of the two people may need medical or psychological treatment. If an informant spontaneously says that the type of treatment for the two people should be different, code (6) only, regardless of what else he may say about which he feels is the worst to undergo.

Repetition. Despite monotony you must go on asking the full question printed under item A all through to the end of the questions, with the sole exception of cases where the informant answers it before you have begun to ask. (The reason for this is that we must, because of possible methodological arguments later be sure that we have always used all three of the prompts ("same; more; less") and always prompted them in that order.

ise  
N.B. Do not ask the latter part of the question as "should one get more and the other less"? There is no "and" in the question, and to insert "and" would be a lead towards paired answers. Quite obviously, if someone who has been convicted before should get more punishment than someone who hasn't, the reverse follows. But an informant may think that having previous convictions is an aggravating factor without necessarily thinking that having no previous convictions is a mitigating factor. The question is designed to find out what things people believe should be taken into consideration as mitigating or aggravating factors by a magistrate or judge. Asked in this way the question shows every sign of working as intended - we got numerous single-code answers for codes (1), (2), (4) or (5) when piloting this final form of wording. The slightest departure from the wording is likely to be a lead to the informant to give multi-code answers.

Probe ONLY if the answer does not make it clear whether the person(s) named should get more, or get less, punishment. Say, if only one person is named: "Should he get more, or less?" If two persons named say: "which one should get more?"

0. LAW-BREAKING - OTHERS/SELF II. 11-12.

Q. 94. If, after probing, your informant still says two or more things are of equal importance, code "Other answer" (5) and specify, indicating with the usual bracketted (P) that you have probed for the "main" cause.

Q. 96. Same instruction as Q. 94, above - except that the "other answer" precode in Q.96 is (3), not (5).

Q. 97. Accept a refusal, or expressed reluctance, to answer either part of this question without exerting persuasion or pressure of any kind. Write in "refusal" or "reluctant to answer" under the question and do not code.

P. CLASSIFICATION I. 31-3.

The classification section is common to all three of the main types of schedules. If your informant turns out to be aged 70 or over, so that you use the shortened blue schedule, then return with it a schedule of the type indicated on your address list, with the classification section completed. The Serial Number must be on both the blue schedule and the schedule containing the classification data for the elderly informant.

CLASSIFICATION OF REFUSALS AND NON-CONTACTS. Complete as much as you can of the classification section for refusals and non-contacts, obtaining proxy information if necessary.

Some people who refuse an interview may be willing to go through all or part of the classification personally, if you explain that we need to know all we can about those who don't want to be interviewed, so that we know who we've lost. With non-contacts it may often be possible to obtain nearly all the classification data by reliable proxy - for example, from the husbands or wives of people who are in hospital or out of the country.

Even a very small amount of information may be useful, so that even if you can only find out the agree or occupation of a non-contact or refusal, record it. If you see the person, always record estimated age, (even if they are the rare type who automatically slam the door in the face of any stranger - provided, of course, that you have ascertained that the door-slammer is indeed the person you want to interview!)

Use the following letters to indicate the source of information about refusals and non-contacts:-

- |       |   |  |
|-------|---|--|
| (I)   | = | Informant                                      |
| (S)   | = | Informant's spouse                             |
| (H)   | = | Any other member of Informant's Household      |
| (N)   | = | Neighbour, or anyone else not in the Household |
| (INT) | = | Interviewer (e.g. your own estimate of age)    |

Use a bracketted (E) (= Estimated), as in other surveys, in addition to the above letters whenever applicable, whoever makes the estimate. The absence of an "(E)" will be taken to mean that the information is thoroughly reliable (e.g. a wife's firm statement about her husband's age).

#### a. HOUSEHOLD CLASSIFICATION

1. Use normal handbook definition for "Working - full or part time"; "retired"; and "Housewife" (there can be only one housewife in a household, as defined in the standard definitions) BUT:-
2. If the Housewife is working (full or part-time) ring code (3) or (4), as appropriate, and DO NOT ring (6) as well. (In these cases the housewife will not be coded as such).
3. If a member of the household has had a job, is not working, and is actively seeking another job, use codes (3) and (4) ringing the one applicable to his/her last job.

If the informant is currently unemployed, and coded (3) or (4) place a bracketted "U" to the right of the precode you have ringed. (We would have an additional precode for the Unemployed had we known at the time of sending the schedule to the printers that there was a possibility of widespread unemployment in some areas while the survey was in the field).

4. STUDENTS go in code (7) UNLESS they are being financed directly or indirectly by their employer to study. In these latter cases code as "Full-time" (3) if the student would be working full time were it not for the course of study his employer has financed or released him to take.
5. CHILDREN. Children below school age, or at school, are always coded (7).

b. INFORMANT

ii to iya. Standard procedure, but for unemployed persons actively seeking work (Codes 3 or 4 in H/H box with "(U)" in brackets after the ringed precode), code and describe their most recent job. For retired persons enter details for their most recent full-time job, unless they were part-time workers before the age of 60 - in which case enter details of their most recent part-time job before age 60.

v. Technical Colleges and Technical Schools. At a technical school (4) the pupil can usually only stay till the age of 16, and the subjects studied are for the most part craft subjects.

A Technical College (3) offers more advanced and academic courses of study, and the pupil can stay till at least 18, and in some cases study for a degree.

vii - viia. Main source of information about crime. These questions must be asked after the end of the interview proper, but you can, of course follow the usual procedure of collecting some or all of the rest of the general classificatory data at any convenient point before or during the interview.

vii. Probing. If the answer is the "papers" ask: "Do you mean mainly daily or Sunday papers or local papers, or magazines?"

If the answer is "Television" or "Radio" ask: "Do you mean mainly plays, films and stories (fiction), or mainly news and true reports about what actually happens?" (Talks by persons connected with the administration of the law, or by real criminals about their experiences or their ideas for change should always be coded (1). Specific programmes such as "The Braden Beat" might fall into either or both of codes (0) or (1). If in doubt, enter the answer verbatim and do not code).

If the answer is "Talking to people" probe with "What sort of people?" and/or "Where?".

viia. If, after probing, the informant cannot distinguish one main thing that has given him his ideas, enter the code no's of the two or more things he thinks have influenced him equally.

viia i. Ask this question even if "National Newspapers" (X) are only one of two or more things that the informant thinks have influenced him equally.

c. INFORMANT AND HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD.

viii. Income. The prompt card is double sided, and the code numbers for weekly income correspond with those for annual income. The informant can, therefore, call out the number from whichever side of the card he/she knows the answer to.

d. HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD, IF HOH IS NOT INFORMANT

x to xi. Code DNA (A) and omit these questions if the informant is the HoH.

## APPENDIX II (i)

### Interviewing Schedule (Type I)

As explained in the text three types of interviewing schedule were used in this inquiry, each containing questions estimated to take about two-thirds of the total interviewing time, in order to accommodate all the subjects required within a tenable duration. The type of schedule to use each named informant was predetermined, and so arranged that each interviewer's assignment of schedule types was randomly and equally distributed among her "quota" of informants.

In this Appendix Schedule-type I is first reproduced complete. The cover page and the classification Section (P) were used at the beginning and end, respectively of each type of schedule.

Schedule-type I runs in alphabetical order from Sections A-I; Schedule-types II and III were arranged by section in the following order :

Type II     J K A H L M N O E F

Type III    K C D B N J O G L M I

The additional questions used on in schedule-types II and III are given in Appendix II (ii) immediately after the classification section in Schedule I in this appendix.

The order in which the sections were arranged in each schedule-type is partly related to logical sequence, but also takes into account field experience on the order of questioning which would best hold informants' interest. For example, a continuous sequence of sections containing several scale-choice questions in the same form, even though on different subjects, was, in general, avoided.

In a few instances the different sequence of sections on different schedules may have had some effect on the distribution of responses. This problem is discussed in Appendix III.

- Notes:
- i. The schedules have been considerably reduced in size for convenience of presentation. The size of the original was 8" x 13".
  - ii. The roman and arabic numerals on the top right of each page indicate the schedule-types and the page numbers in each of the two relevant schedule-types on which the questions appeared (The cover page has no arabic numeral since it appeared first on all schedules).



A. CAUSES

"I want to mention to you some of the things  
that people say cause crime in this country  
today".

- 1a. Some people say that (one) (another) cause of crime is that . . . .  
(USE LIST BELOW)

Do you think this is one of the causes of crime?  
(Code in Column a)

If "Yes"

- b. Do you think it is one of the main causes, or not?  
(Code in Column b)

	Q. 1a Column a			Q. 1b → If "Yes" - Column b				
	a. ONE OF THE CAUSES			b. ONE OF THE MAIN CAUSES				
	No	Don't know	Yes	Yes	Main	Not Main	Other	Don't know
A. Parents do not have enough authority over children today	6	5	7	A	1	4	2	3
B. People are persuaded to buy things they don't really need, and can't really afford . . . . .	6	5	7	A	1	4	2	3
C. The fear of war and uncertainty about the future lowers people's standards of behaviour . . . . .	6	5	7	A	1	4	2	3
D. People nowadays feel they can get something for nothing and not have to work hard for it . . . . .	6	5	7	A	1	4	2	3
E. People are less religious than they used to be . . . . .	6	5	7	A	1	4	2	3
F. There are many people working in boring jobs who can't find enough to do in their spare time . . . . .	6	5	7	A	1	4	2	3
G. Countries fight wars, so people think violence can be excused in everyday life	6	5	7	A	1	4	2	3
H. There is so much emphasis today on getting rich quick that people feel money is the most important thing . .	6	5	7	A	1	4	2	3
I. So many people get away with breaking the law that the rest feel it is not so bad to break it . . . . .	6	5	7	A	1	4	2	3
J. School teachers don't have enough authority over children today . . . . .	6	5	7	A	1	4	2	3

B. DISINCENTIVES

I 2  
III 5

B. DISINCENTIVES

"I'd like to ask you about some possible ways of catching more of the people who break the law, and of putting less temptation in their way".

2. Do you think it would make a lot of difference; some difference; a little difference; or no difference to the number of people breaking the law if . . . . . (Ask for A to G in turn)

	PROMPTED				UNPROMPTED	
	A lot of diff.	Some diff.	A little diff.	No diff.	Don't know	Qualified answer (specify below)
A. . . . . the police force was made bigger . . . . .	1	2	3	4	5	6
B. . . . . the police force improved their methods of catching people who had broken the law . . . . .	1	2	3	4	5	6
C. . . . . the police spent more time on serious crimes and less on petty things. . . . .	1	2	3	4	5	6
D. . . . . there was less about crime on T.V. and in films, papers and books . . . . .	1	2	3	4	5	6
E. . . . . the public guarded their property more carefully . . . . .	1	2	3	4	5	6
F. . . . . the shops did not display their goods so openly . . . . .	1	2	3	4	5	6
G. . . . . first offenders and petty offenders were kept in separate prisons from hardened criminals .	1	2	3	4	5	6

PROBE "in general" BEFORE ACCEPTING qualified answers

Give item-letter for each qualified answer specified

Item letter	Qualified answer	
		Y X O 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
		Y X O 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
		Y X O 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

C. SERIOUSNESS/FREQUENCYI. 3  
III. 3C. RELATIVE SERIOUSNESS AND FREQUENCY OF OFFENCESHAND INFORMANT SHUFFLED OFFENCE CARDS PACK A (18 CARDS)

"Each of these cards has something described on it which is against the law. We'd like to know which of these things you think are serious, and which you think are not serious".

3. Would you sort the cards into two piles - one pile for those which you yourself think of as serious, and one for those which you think are not serious?

TAKE PACKS BACK FROM INFORMANT WHEN SORTED, AND CODE IN COLUMN A.

THEN HAND INFORMANT PACK B (10 CARDS)

"These cards describe some of the same things again"

4. I would like you to think of all the people that are taken to court each year accused of offences.

Would you arrange the cards for me in order starting with whichever one of the things described on these cards you think the largest number of people are accused of, and going down to the thing you reckon the smallest number are accused of?

TAKE BACK SORTED CARDS AND ENTER ORDER IN COLUMN B - "1" FOR THE LARGEST NUMBER: "2" FOR THE SECOND LARGEST NUMBER ETC.

	Q. 3 Column A		Q. 4 Column B	CARD NUMBERS IN PACK B.
	Serious	Not Serious	Frequency Ranking	
A. Murder . . . . .	Y	X		A
B. Manslaughter . . . . .	0	1	DNA	
C. Robbery with violence . . . . .	2	3		C
D. Cruelty to children . . . . .	4	5		D
E. Housebreaking . . . . .	6	7		EF
F. Breaking into a factory . . . . .	8	9		
-----				
G. Taking away a motor vehicle (without the owner's consent but NOT intending to steal it) . . . . .	Y	X		G
H. Stealing by finding . . . . .	0	1	DNA	
I. Being drunk and disorderly . . . . .	2	3		I
J. Travelling on a bus, train etc. . without paying the fare . . . . .	4	5	DNA	
K. Fraud (that is, obtaining money by false pretences) . . . . .	6	7		K
L. Stealing (without violence) . . . . .	8	9	DNA	
M. Deliberately damaging property . . . . .	Y	X		M
N. Committing a sexual offence against a child under 13 years . . . . .	0	1		N
O. Indecently assaulting a woman . . . . .	2	3	DNA	
P. Fighting (sometimes known as common assault) . . . . .	4	5		P
Q. Vagrancy (living rough with no fixed home or proper means of support) . . . . .	6	7	DNA	
			DNA	
R. Causing death by dangerous driving	8	9		
OFF.				USE

D. INCIDENCE/DETECTION

I. 4  
III. 4

D. CHANGES IN INCIDENCE AND DETECTION

5. In the past few years do you think the number of (Crimes A to F in turn) committed has increased quite a bit, or not changed much, or decreased?

"In some cases a crime comes to the notice of the police but they can't find the offender".

6. For how many of the (Crimes A to F in turn) the police get to know about would you say someone is found and accused in court - Nearly all; or more than half; or less than half; or very few?

UNPROMPTED ANSWERS TO Q. 6: Code "All" (5) and "None" (8)

CRIMES	Q. 5 Change				Q. 6 Number Accused				
	Increased quite a bit	Not changed much	Dec- reased	Don't know	Nearly all	More than half	Less than half	Very few	Don't know
A. Murders . . . . .	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
B. Robberies with violence. . . . .	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
C. Breakings and enterings . . . . .	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
D. Sexual offences against children under 13 years old. .	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
E. Fights (sometimes known as common assaults) . . . . .	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
F. Thefts (without violence) . . . . .	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

E. COURTS

"I'm going to ask you about what goes on in the courts where people who have broken the law are tried. Many people don't know much about this subject, so don't think it's unusual if you can't answer everything. We want to talk with people about this in order to find out what things are not generally known".

7. Imagine that there were two people; one had been found guilty of a minor (not very serious) offence, say drunkenness, and the other of a serious offence, like robbery with violence. Would both be sentenced at the same type of court or would the drunk be sentenced at a different type of court from the robber?

Same type of court . . . . .  
 Different type of court. . . .  
 Don't know . . . . .

1  
 2 K  
 3

IF NECESSARY EXPLAIN -

"Magistrates' Courts deal with all sorts of minor (less serious) offences. Under certain circumstances they can also deal with people for worse offences, but all offences which the law thinks are particularly bad go to Higher Courts, where there are judges".

8. As far as you know, do Magistrates' Courts (that's where people are sentenced for lesser offences) have a jury or not?

Yes, do have a jury. . . . .  
 No, do not have a jury. . . . .  
 Don't know . . . . .  
 Other answer (specify) . . . .

4  
 5 K  
 7  
 6

Y X 0  
 1 2 3  
 4 5 6  
 7 8 9

9. Do you think the Magistrate wears a wig, or not?

Yes. . . . .  
 No. . . . .  
 Don't know . . . .

Y  
 X K  
 0

10. Do the Higher Courts (where people are sentenced for worse offences) have a jury?

Yes. . . . .  
 No . . . . .  
 Don't know . . . .

K 1 Ask a  
 2  
 3

If "Yes" (1)

- a. Do they always, or only sometimes, have a jury?

DNA. . . . .  
 Always . . . . .  
 Sometimes. . . . .  
 Don't know . . . .

A  
 4  
 5 K  
 6

11. How often do you think juries make the right decision about the guilt or innocence of the person on trial - nearly always; or in over half the cases; or in less than half; or in very few cases?

Nearly always or always. . . .  
 Over half of cases . . . . .  
 Less than half of cases. . . .  
 Very few or none . . . . .  
 Don't know . . . . .

1  
 2  
 3  
 4  
 5

- 12.1. If someone appears in a magistrate's court charged with an offence, do you know whether the magistrate is told about his previous record, or not?  
(EXPLAIN "Record", if necessary, as: "Whether he's been convicted before, and if so, what he's been convicted of")

- ii. And how about judges (in higher courts)?

(repeat as above if necessary)

Yes, told . . . . .  
No, not told . . . . .  
Don't know . . . . .  
Other answer (specify)

(i) Magistrate	(ii) Judge
1 Ask a	K 1 Ask a
K 2	2
4	4
3	3

Y X O	Y X O
1 2 3	1 2 3
4 5 6	4 5 6
7 8 9	7 8 9

If "Yes" (i) to (i) and/or (ii)

- a. Is the i. magistrate/ ii. judge

(as applicable) told -

INA. . . . .

Before any evidence is heard. . . . .  
RUNNING or After all the evidence has been heard but  
PROMPT before the person has been found guilty  
or not guilty . . . . .  
or After the person has been found guilty, but  
before the punishment is decided. . . . .  
Don't know. . . . .  
Other answer (specify). . . . .

Magistrate	Judge
A	A
1	1 K
2	2
3 K	3
5	5
4	4

Y X O	Y X O
1 2 3	1 2 3
4 5 6	4 5 6
7 8 9	7 8 9

"When someone appears in court accused of committing an offence, he has to choose between pleading guilty and pleading not guilty".

13. Is someone who pleads guilty tried only to decide what punishment he should be given, or is there more to it than that?

Tried only for sentence.  
Don't know . . . . .  
Other answer (specify) .

1 K  
3  
2

Y X O
1 2 3
4 5 6
7 8 9

14. Suppose two people commit the same sort of crime and are caught, and one pleads guilty and the other not guilty. The one who pleads not guilty is found guilty after trial. Do you think both would get the same punishment or would one of them usually get a worse punishment than the other?

If one worse than the other: Which one do you think would get the worse punishment?

Both the same . . . . .  
One who pleaded GUILTY would get worse punishment. . . . .  
One who pleaded NOT GUILTY would get worse punishment. . . . .  
Don't know. . . . .  
Other answer (specify). . . . .

1  
2  
3  
5  
4

Y X O
1 2 3
4 5 6
7 8 9

## 15. "Of the people who are charged in a Magistrates' Court (that is for less serious offences)":

i. Do you think most of them plead guilty or not guilty?

Most plead guilty . . . . .	Y K
Most plead not guilty . . . . .	X
Don't know . . . . .	0

ii. Do you think most of the people charged have someone to represent them or do most of them not have anyone to represent them?(Interviewer: Lawyer, NOT employer, vicar, etc.)

Most <u>do</u> have someone to represent them . . . . .	1
Most do <u>not</u> have someone to represent them . . . . .	2 K
Don't know . . . . .	3

## 16. "Of the people who are charged in Higher Courts (that is for serious offences)":

i. Do you think most of them plead guilty or not guilty?

Most plead guilty . . . . .	4 K
Most plead not guilty . . . . .	5
Don't know . . . . .	6

ii. Do you think most of the people charged have someone to represent them or do most of them not have anyone to represent them?(Interviewer: Lawyer, NOT employer, vicar, etc.)

Most <u>do</u> have someone to represent them . . . . .	7
Most do <u>not</u> have someone to represent them . . . . .	8 K
Don't know . . . . .	9

17. As far as you know do all the people who have someone to represent them, pay his fees themselves or is there some way that people can get help in paying his fees?

Cannot get help, pay themselves	1
Can get help . . . . .	2 Ask a,b
Don't know . . . . .	4
Qualified answer (specify) . . . . .	3 Ask a,b

Y X 0
1 2 3
4 5 6
7 8 9

If "Can get help" or "Qualified answer" (2 or 3)

a. Of the people who have someone to represent them in Magistrates' Courts (that is for less serious offences) do you think most of them get help in paying his fees or most do not get help?

Most get help . . . . .	1
Most do not get help . . . . .	2
Don't know . . . . .	3

b. And of the people who have someone to represent them in Higher Courts (that is for more serious offences) do you think most of them get help in paying his fees or most do not get help?

Most get help . . . . .	4
Most do not get help . . . . .	5
Don't know . . . . .	6

18. As far as you know, can a man be kept in prison before he is convicted - that is before it has been decided whether he is guilty or not?

Yes . . . . . 1 K  
No . . . . . 2  
Don't know . . . . 3

19. Thinking of all sorts of offences - do you think the sentence (or punishment) a person gets, depends a lot on which magistrate hears the case, or do you think most magistrates would give about the same sentence (punishment)?

(IF NEEDED: "Assuming the offence and circumstances are the same")

IF "Depends on magistrate's mood" RECORD THIS ANSWER, CODE 6, THEN PROBE FOR ANSWER TO ORIGINAL QUESTION AND CODE THIS AS WELL.

Depends a lot which magistrate . . . . 4  
Most would give about the same sentence . . . . . 5  
Don't know . . . . . 7  
Other answer (specify). . . . . 6

Y X O  
1 2 3  
4 5 6  
7 8 9

If "Depends on magistrate" or "Other answer" (4 or 6)

- a. Do you think it should, or should not; be like this?

INA . . . . . A  
Should . . . . . 1  
Should not . . . . 2  
Don't know . . . . 3

If "Should not" to part a. above (2)

- ai. What do you think should be done about it?

INA . . . . . A  
Y X O  
1 2 3  
4 5 6  
7 8 9

20. About judges (in Higher Courts). Do you think the sentence (or punishment) a person gets depends a lot on which judge hears the case, or do you think most judges would give about the same sentence (punishment)?

(IF NEEDED: "Assuming the crime is the same")

IF "Depends on judge's mood", RECORD THIS ANSWER CODE 3, THEN PROBE FOR ANSWER TO ORIGINAL QUESTION AND CODE THIS AS WELL.

Depends a lot which judge . . . . . 1  
Most would give about the same sentence . . . . . 2  
Don't know . . . . . 4  
Other answer (specify). . . . . 3

Y X O  
1 2 3  
4 5 6  
7 8 9

E. COURTS.

I. 9  
II. 17

"Can we talk about Magistrates again?"

(IF NEEDED, EXPLAIN: "They are the people who try cases in the lower courts, for the less serious crimes and offences".)

21. Do you think that magistrates as people -

RUNNING	Nearly all well-off. . . . .	1	Ask a
PROMPT <u>or</u>	Mostly not well-off. . . . .	3	Ask a
<u>or</u>	Do they include well-off and not so well-off about equally	2	Ask a
	Don't know . . . . .	5	
	Other answer (specify) . . . . .	4	
		Y X O	
		1 2 3	
		4 5 6	
		7 8 9	

If Q. 21 answered within prompts (1, 2 and 3)

a. Do you think it should be like this, or do you think they should include a different mixture of people?	DNA . . . . .	A	
	Should be as it is . . . . .	1	
	Different mixture. . . . .	2	Ask a
	Don't know . . . . .	3	
		Y X O	
		1 2 3	
		4 5 6	
		7 8 9	

If "Different" (2)

ai. Different in what ways?

22. How much training in law do you think most magistrates get -

RUNNING	Quite a lot. . . . .	1	
PROMPT <u>or</u>	A fair amount. . . . .	2	
<u>or</u>	Very little. . . . .	3	X
<u>or</u>	No training. . . . .	4	X
	Don't know . . . . .	6	
	Other answer (specify) . . . . .	5	
		Y X O	
		1 2 3	
		4 5 6	
		7 8 9	

23. Is there anything, apart from training in law, that you think magistrates need to help them to give the right sentences to people?

Yes . . . . .	1	Ask a
No. . . . .	2	
Don't know. . . . .	3	

If "Yes" (1)

a. What else do they need?

NO PROMPT	To know more about ordinary people . . . . .	4	
	To know more about what criminals are like . . . . .	5	
CODE ALL THAT APPLY	To know more about what prisons/institutions are like . . . . .	6	
	Other answer (specify) . . . . .	7	
		Y X O	
		1 2 3	
		4 5 6	
		7 8 9	

E. COURTS

I. 10  
II. 18

"Imagine a well-off person and a poorer person  
had both broken the law in the same way".

	Same	Well-off person BETTER	Poorer person: BETTER	Don't know
24.				
A. Do you think that they would both get the same treatment from the police, or do you think one would be treated better than the other? If "one better treated": Which one would be treated better? . . . . .	2	1	4	3
B. An how about the treatment they'd get from magistrates? (PROMPT AS IN A) . . . . .	2	1	4	3
C. And from judges? . . . . .	2	1	4	3
D. And from juries? . . . . .	2	1	4	3
E. Suppose both of them got a lawyer to defend them, do you think they'd stand an equal chance of getting a <u>good</u> one, or would one have a better chance than the other? If " <u>one a better chance</u> ": Which one? . . .	2	1	4	3
F. Do you think they'd both have an equal chance of getting someone to defend them, or would one have a better chance than the other? If " <u>one a better chance</u> ": Which one?	2	1	4	3
OFF.				USE

25. Have you ever been inside a court yourself?

	No	Higher Court	Magistrates Court	Juvenile Court	Other
PROMPT a. To watch what was going on	Y	X	0	1	2
SINGLY b. As a witness. . . . .	3	4	5	6	7
CODE c. Bringing a case against	Y	X	0	1	2
ALL anyone else. . . . .	Y	X	0	1	2
THAT d. Accused of an offence	3	4	5	6	7
APPLY yourself . . . . .	3	4	5	6	7
e. For any other reason. . . .	Y	X	0	1	2

OFF.

(If "Yes" to any, ask whether a Higher Court, ordinary  
Magistrates' Court, Juvenile Court or what). CODE  
MILITARY COURTS AND COURTS OUTSIDE U.K. AS "Other".

USE

26. Supposing it is decided to send a man to prison, should the length of sentence always be fixed at the time he's found guilty, or should it sometimes be decided later, when he's spent some time in prison?

Always decided at time of sentence. . . 1  
Sometimes decided later . . . . . 2 Ask a  
Don't know. . . . . 3

If "Sometimes later" (2)

a. Who should then decide the length of sentence? DNA. . . . A

Y X 0  
1 2 3  
4 5 6  
7 8 9

"At present, after a person has been found  
guilty it is the magistrate or judge who  
has to decide on the sentence (punishment)"

27. Do you think that it is right or not that the magistrate  
or judge is the person who decides the sentence?

Right . . . . . 1  
Not right . . . . . 3 Ask a  
Right for judges, not for  
magistrates . . . . . 2 Ask a  
Don't know . . . . . 5  
Qualified answer (specify). . . 4 Ask a

Y X 0  
1 2 3  
4 5 6  
7 8 9

If "Not right", "Right for judges, not for  
magistrates", or "Qualified answer" (3, 2 or 4)

INA . . .

A

- a. What do you think should happen instead?

Y X 0  
1 2 3  
4 5 6  
7 8 9

28. About fines . . On the whole do you think fines (in general)  
should be bigger than they are now, or smaller, or about the  
same?

Bigger . . . . . 1  
Smaller . . . . . 4  
About the same . . . . . 3  
Bigger for some offences, smaller for  
others (UNPROMPTED). (Specify offences  
for which they should be bigger, and  
for which they should be smaller). . . . . 2  
Should be STANDARDISED (UNPROMPTED) . . . . . 5  
Don't know . . . . . 7  
Other answer (specify). . . . . 6

Y X 0  
1 2 3  
4 5 6  
7 8 9

29. Are there any other ways we haven't talked about so far  
which you think would help to-stop people breaking the law?

No . . . . . 1  
Don't know . . . . . 3  
Yes (specify ways, and probe for sorts  
of offender) . . . . . 2

Y X 0  
1 2 3  
4 5 6  
7 8 9

F. DRIVING OFFENCES

"I'd like to talk now about driving offences."

"Imagine two cases in which people have been seriously injured. Their injuries are the same. One person was knocked down by someone driving a vehicle dangerously. The other was attacked in the street".

30. Who do you think should get the worse punishment - the dangerous driver, or the person who attacked someone in the street?

Worse punishment to the dangerous driver . . . . .	1 Ask a,b
Worse punishment to the attacker . . . . .	2 Ask a,b,c
Same penalty (or equally bad penalty) to both (UNPROMPTED) . . . . .	3 Ask c
Don't know . . . . .	5
Other answer (specify) . . . . .	4

Y X O
1 2 3
4 5 6
7 8 9

If worse penalty for "Driver" or "Attacker" (1 or 2) INA . .

- a. What makes this case more serious?

A
Y X O
1 2 3
4 5 6
7 8 9

- b. Should the punishment be much worse, or only a little worse?

Much worse . . . . .	1
Only a little worse . . . . .	2
Don't know . . . . .	3

If "Worse punishment for attacker" or "Same for both" (2 or 3 in main question)

- c. Supposing the dangerous driver was found to be drunk, but the attacker was not - would you say the driver or the attacker should get the worse punishment?

INA . .

Driver . . . . .	4
Attacker . . . . .	6
Same for both (UNPROMPTED) . . . . .	5
Don't know . . . . .	7

G. PRISON LIFE

"The next part is about prison life. People have very different ideas about what goes on in prison, and it's not always easy to know what happens. We are just as interested in finding out in what ways people have got the WRONG ideas about it, as we are in finding out how many know the facts. So would you just give me your general impressions, from what you've read, or seen or heard about ORDINARY prisons".

31. First, supposing you were sent to prison, what one thing do you think you would hate most about it? (USE CLARIFYING PROBES ONLY. IF TWO OR MORE THINGS MENTIONED SPONTANEOUSLY ASK: Which one of these would you hate most? AND UNDERLINE THE MOST HATED THING).

Y	X	0
1	2	3
4	5	6
7	8	9

32. What time do you think they get up in the morning in most ordinary prisons?

	Before 5 a.m. . . . .	1
	5 to 6 a.m. . . . .	2
DO NOT	After 6 to 7 a.m. . . . .	3 K
	After 7 to 8 a.m. . . . .	4 K
PROMPT	After 8 to 9 a.m. . . . .	5
	After 9 a.m. . . . .	6
	No idea . . . . .	8
	Other range (specify) . . . .	7

Y	X	0
1	2	3
4	5	6
7	8	9

Hours

33. How many hours do they do a day? . . . . .  
Don't know. . . . .

K
X

34. Do most prisoners get paid for the work they do? Yes . . . . .  
No. . . . .  
Don't know. . . . .

K	1	Ask a
2		
3		

If "Yes" (1)

DNA . . .

A
E. s.

- a. About how much do they earn per week? . . . . .  
No idea . . . . .

K
X

"Some people think that most prisoners should not be allowed to do the same sort of jobs as men outside prison. (A)

- Others think they should be able to do jobs like other men do, but that they should get paid much less money for their work than people who aren't in prison. (B)

- And some think that they should have proper jobs with normal rates of pay". (C)

35. Which of these comes nearest to you own opinion?  
(REPEAT INTRODUCTION IF NECESSARY)

NOT ALLOWED to do same sort of jobs as men outside prison (A)  
Allowed to do PROPER JOBS but at MUCH LESS PAY . . . . . (B)  
Allowed to do PROPER JOBS with NORMAL RATES OF PAY . . . . . (C)  
Don't know . . . . .  
Qualified answer (specify) . . . . .

P 1 Ask a  
P 2 Ask a  
3 Ask b  
5  
4 Ask b

Y X O  
1 2 3  
4 5 6  
7 8 9

If "Not allowed to do same sort of jobs" or "Allowed at much less pay" (1 or 2) INA ..

- a. What is your main reason for thinking this?

DO NOT They've committed crime/should be punished .  
PROMPT They should pay for board and lodging/cost  
of keeping them in prison . . . . .  
Money should be saved for when they come out.  
Don't know . . . . .  
Other answer (specify) . . . . .

A

P 1

2  
3 Ask b  
5  
4 Ask b

Y X O  
1 2 3  
4 5 6  
7 8 9

If "Proper jobs with normal pay" or Qualified answer (3 and 4)

- b. Supposing prisoners earned the same wages as anyone else doing the same job, should they be allowed to keep all they earn to save or use as they like? INA ..

Yes. . . . .  
No . . . . .  
Don't know . . . . .

A

1  
2 Ask bi  
3 Ask bi

If "No" or "Don't know" (2 or 3) to 35b. INA ..

- bi. Should they be made to -

PROMPT i. Give some of it towards cost of their keep  
SINGLY ii. Save some of it for when they come out .  
iii. Give some to their wife or family . . . . .  
iv. Give some to anyone else . . . . .

A  
Yes No  
Y X  
0 1  
2 3  
4 5

If "Yes" (4) to iv: < INA ..

- bii. Who to?

Y X O  
1 2 3  
4 5 6  
7 8 9

G. PRISONS

I. 15

III. 14

36. Out of the 24 hours each day, how many hours do you think  
most prisoners spend locked in their cells? . . . . .

Don't know. . .

37. Does a man in prison usually -

RUNNING PROMPT Have a cell to himself . . . . .  
1 to 3 Share a cell with one other man . . . . .  
Share a cell with two or more other men . . .  
Don't know . . . . .  
Other answer (specify) . . . . .

38. Are there proper flush lavatories in most prison cells?

Yes . . . . .

No . . . . .

Don't know . . .

If "No" (2)

- a. How do they manage?

Probe if needed for:- What do they use?  
Is it inside or outside cells?  
IF OUTSIDE CELLS:- When can they use it?

DNA. . .

DO NOT PROMPT

CODE ONE  
ONLY

Pot/chamber/pail IN CELL . . . . .  
Elsan/chemical closet IN CELL . . . . .  
Other arrangement IN CELL (specify). . . . .  
Other arrangement OUTSIDE CELL(specify). . . . .  
Don't know . . . . .

"After they've served part of their sentence  
most prisoners eat together".

39. Are most prisoners allowed to talk to each other -  
(ASK ABOUT A to D IN TURN)

A. At meals . . . . .  
B. During working hours  
C. On exercise . . . . .  
D. If they share a cell,  
to men they share a  
cell with

OFF.  
USE

Hours		
X		
1 K		
2		
3		
5		
4		
Y X 0		
1 2 3		
4 5 6		
7 8 9		
1		
K 2 Ask a		
3		
A		
4 K		
5		
6		
7		
8		
Y X 0		
1 2 3		
4 5 6		
7 8 9		
Yes	No	DK
YK	X	0
1K	2	3
4	5	6
7K	8	9

40. What exercise are most prisoners obliged to take (not things they can do voluntarily in their spare time)?

(If "play games", probe if necessary: "What sort of games?")

If "gym(nastics)", probe: "Do you mean in a proper equipped gymnasium or just exercise without special equipment?")

DO NOT	Walking round prison yard (including other	
PROMPT	organised walking in prison precincts) . . . . .	1 K
	PT; Army-type PE; (including gymnastics	
	without equipment) . . . . .	2
	Athletics, running . . . . .	3
	Outdoor games or sports . . . . .	4
	Don't know . . . . .	6
	Other answer (specify) . . . . .	5

Y X 0
1 2 3
4 5 6
7 8 9

41. About how long (INTERVIEWER: average hours per day) do you think most prisoners spend out of their cells, doing things with other prisoners, that they want to do but aren't obliged to?

(Such as watching TV, taking part in sports or indoor games).

(EXPLAIN: Don't count meal-times)

Number of hours per day —————→

No idea . . . . .	Y
Qualified answer (specify) . .	X

Y X 0
1 2 3
4 5 6
7 8 9

42. Are most men in prison allowed to have visitors?

Yes . . . . .  
No . . . . .  
Don't know. . .

K Y	Ask a + b	O	Ask b	X	Ask b
a.	b.				
Allowed	Should be				
42a	42b				
DNA . . . . .	A	-			
Not at all . . . . .	1	0 P			
Less often than once a month . . . . .	2	1 P			
Once a month . . . . .	3	2 P			
Twice a month (once a fortnight) . . . . .	4	3			
3 times a month . . . . .	5	4			
Once a week . . . . .	6	5			
Twice a week . . . . .	7	6			
More often than twice a week					
(Probe: "How often" and specify)	8	7			
DO NOT PROMPT	9	8			
Other answer (specify) . . . . .	8	8			
Y X O	Y X O				
1 2 3	1 2 3				
4 5 6	4 5 6				
7 8 9	7 8 9				

If "Yes" (Y), ask a. and b.

If "No" or "Don't know" (O or X), ask b. only

a. How often are most of them allowed visitors?

b. How often do you think most of them should be allowed visitors?

DO NOT PROMPT

43. Are most men in prison allowed to receive letters?

Yes . . . . .  
No . . . . .  
Don't know . .

K Y	Ask a + b	O	Ask b	X	Ask b
43a	43b				
Can they receive as many as they like, or are they limited to a certain number in a month?	A	-			
DNA . . . . .	1	0 P			
None at all . . . . .	2	1 P			
If limited, PROBE: How many can they receive in a month?	3	2 P			
Limited to (state number per month)	4	3			
As many as they like . . . . .	5	4			
Limited, but no idea of limit . . . . .	6	5			
Don't know whether limited or not.	7	6			
Other answer (specify) . . . . .	8	7			
Y X O	Y X O				
1 2 3	1 2 3				
4 5 6	4 5 6				
7 8 9	7 8 9				

If "Yes" (Y), ask a. and b.

If "No" or "Don't know" (O or X), ask b. only

a. Can they receive as many as they like, or are they limited to a certain number in a month?

If limited, PROBE: How many can they receive in a month?

b. How often do you think they should be allowed to receive letters?

G. PRISON

I. 18  
111. 17

44. Are they allowed to write letters?

Yes . . . . . X Y Ask a, b  
No . . . . . O Ask b  
Don't know . . . . . X Ask b

If "Yes" (Y), ask a. and b.

If "No" or "Don't know" (O or X), ask b. only

a. Can they send as many letters as they like, or are they limited to a certain number in a month?

INA. . . . .  
None at all . . . . .

b. How often do you think they should be allowed to send letters?

Limited to -  
(State number per month)

As many as they like . . . . .  
Limited, but no idea of limit. . . . .  
Don't know whether limited or not. . . . .  
Other answer (specify) . . . . .

a.	b.
Are Allowed	Should be Allowed
44a	44b
A	-
-	O P
Per Month	Per Month
K	P
1	1
2	2
3	3
4	4
Y X O	Y X O
1 2 3	1 2 3
4 5 6	4 5 6
7 8 9	7 8 9

45. i) Are the letters prisoners receive } read by the  
ii) Are the letters prisoners send } governor or  
prison staff or  
censored in any  
way?

Yes . . . . . Y K Y K  
No . . . . . O O  
Don't know . . . . . X X

Ask for each of Q. 45 parts i and ii to which the answer is "Yes" (Y)

a. What subjects or information do they look for when they read or censor -

i) Letters received by prisoners?  
ii) Letters sent out by prisoners?

(i)	(ii)
Received	Sent
A	A
1	1
2	2
3	3
4	4
5	5
6	6
7	7
Y X O	Y X O
1 2 3	1 2 3
4 5 6	4 5 6
7 8 9	7 8 9

INA . . . . .

DO NOT PROMPT

CODE ALL THAT APPLY

PLANS FOR ESCAPE (including references to tools for use in plots to escape) . . . . .  
LEAKAGE OF INFORMATION on prison routines, timing, etc. which could aid escape . . . . .  
PLANS FOR FUTURE CRIMES . . . . .  
REFERENCES TO TREATMENT OF PRISONERS . . . . .  
TO FIND OUT about CRIMINALS outside prison; stolen goods etc. . . . .  
Sex, pornography . . . . .  
Don't know what they are read/censored for . . . . .  
Other answers (specify) . . . . .

A	A
1	1
2	2
3	3
4	4
5	5
6	6
7	7
Y X O	Y X O
1 2 3	1 2 3
4 5 6	4 5 6
7 8 9	7 8 9

46. Are prisoners allowed to smoke at all?

Yes . . . . .  
No . . . . .  
Don't know. . . .

K Y Ask a  
X  
0

If "yes" (Y)

a. Are they allowed to smoke as much as they can afford, or are they only allowed a limited ration of tobacco or cigarettes? INA . . . . .  
As much as they can afford Limited ration . . . . .  
Don't know . . . . .

A  
K 1  
2  
3

47. Do you think they should be limited to a ration, or ought they to be allowed to smoke as much as they can afford?

Should be limited . . . . .  
Much as they can afford . . . . .  
Don't know . . . . .

P 4  
5  
6

48. Do you think on the whole, that prisons should be more severe (strict) than they are now; or less severe(strict); or should they stay the same?

More severe/strict than they are now . . . . .  
Less severe/strict than they are now . . . . .  
Stay the same . . . . .

P 1  
4  
3

Some should be more severe and some less severe, to suit different prisoners (UNPROMPTED) . . . . .  
Don't know . . . . .  
Other answer (specify) . . . . .

2  
6  
5

Y X 0  
1 2 3  
4 5 6  
7 8 9

"Nowadays most prisoners, if they behave themselves, only serve two-thirds of the sentence they're given in court".

49. Should all prisoners who have been given sentences of three or more years who are not dangerous, have to serve at least two-thirds of their sentence or do you think some could be let out earlier under supervision?

All should serve at least two-thirds of sentence . . . . .  
Some could be let out earlier under supervision. . . . .  
Don't know . . . . .  
Qualified answer (specify) . . . . .

1  
2  
4  
3

Y X 0  
1 2 3  
4 5 6  
7 8 9

50. When a man comes out of prison, do you think he should be given any sort of help - apart from any he may get from friends or relatives? Yes . . . . .  
No . . . . .  
Don't know . . . .

1 Ask a  
P 2  
3

If "Yes"(1)

a. What sort of help should he get (including any he does get already)?

(Probe fully: "Any other sorts of help?")

Money; financial help . . . . .  
Help in finding a job . . . . .  
Help in finding a place to live . . . . .  
Other answer (specify) . . . . .

4  
5  
6  
7

Y X 0  
1 2 3  
4 5 6  
7 8 9

51a. Supposing he was not a dangerous or violent criminal, would you . . .  
(Ask for A to G separately and Code in Column (a))

REPEAT: "not dangerous or violent" if needed.

	Column (a)					Column (b)
REPEAT: not dangerous or violent" if needed.	Only if knew him person- ally/already knew a lot about him.		DEPENDS		Don't know	DONE?
	Yes	No	On his crime	On what he was like personally		
A. Give money to an ex-prisoner or to a prisoner's family for an ex-prisoner's family	1	6P 2	3	4	5	1
B. (ASK MEN) Have a drink or go out with an ex-prisoner (ASK WOMEN) Go out with a small group of men and women, if one of the men was an ex-prisoner . . . .	1	6P 2	3	4	5	2
C. Let your children play with a prisoner's or ex-prisoner's children (IF INFORMANT HAS NO CHILDREN SAY: "Supposing you had children") . . . . .	1	6P 2	3	4	5	3
D. Invite an ex-prisoner home	1	6P 2	3	4	5	4
E. Become friends with an ex-prisoner at work . . . . .	1	6P 2	3	4	5	5
F. Consider recommending an ex-prisoner you knew for a job. . . . .	1	6P 2	3	4	5	6
G. Consider accepting an ex-prisoner as a partner in business (supposing you had a business). . . . .	1	6P 2	3	4	5	7

b. Have you ever done any of these things? DONE NONE. . . 0  
(Ring each one done in Column (b) above, or Ring (0) if none done) ↑

52a. Again supposing he was not a dangerous or violent criminal, would you . . .  
(Ask for H to K separately and Code in Column (a))

	Column (a)						Column(b)
	Yes	No	Not if knew	DEPENDS		Don't know	HAPPENED?
	wld	wld	him person-	On	On what		
	mind	not	ally/already	his	he was		
	mind	knew a lot	crime	like per-			
			about him		sonally		
H.Mind having your children attend the same school as an ex-prisoner's children (supposing you had children)	6P	1	2	3	4	5	1
I.Mind living next door to an ex-prisoner . . . . .	6P	1	2	3	4	5	2
J.Mind working with an ex-prisoner on a tricky or dangerous job(supposing you had a job of that sort)	6	1	2	3	4	5	3
K.Try to stop your daughter marrying an ex-prisoner (supposing you had a daughter)(CODE AS IF Q. HAD BEEN "Would you mind") . . . .	6	1	2	3	4	5	4

b. Have any of these things actually happened to you?  
(EXPLAIN IF NEEDED: "Have you had your children at the same school as an ex-prisoner's children?" . . etc.) NONE HAPPENED? 0  
(RING ANY THAT HAPPENED TO INFORMANT IN COLUMN (b) ABOVE OR RING (0) IF NONE HAVE HAPPENED.) ↑

53. Do you know whether or not a prisoner's family can get help from National Assistance, while he is in prison?

Yes, they can . . .  
No, they can't. . .  
Don't know . . .

1 K  
2  
3

54. Can they get any other official help (that is money or anything paid for by the government or out of taxes or the rates)?

Yes, they can . . .  
No, they can't. . .  
Don't know . . .

K 4 Ask a  
5  
6

If "Yes" (4)

- a. What other official help can they get?

(PROBE: Where from?)

DNA . . . . .  
Don't know . . .

A  
9  
Y X O  
1 2 3  
4 5 6  
7 8

55. Do you think prisoners' families get too much, about the right amount, or too little official help?

Too much . . . . .  
Right amount . . . . .  
Too little . . . . .  
Don't know . . . . .  
Other answer (specify) . .

P 1  
2  
3 Ask a  
5  
4

Y X O  
1 2 3  
4 5 6  
7 8 9

If "too little" (3)

- a. What kind of help should they get more of?

DNA . .

A  
Y X O  
1 2 3  
4 5 6  
7 8 9

56. Have you ever heard of open prisons?

Yes . . . . .  
No or Don't know.

K 1 Ask a,b  
2

If "Yes" (1)

- a. What sort of men do you think should be sent to open prisons?

DNA . .

DO NOT

PROMPT

CODE ALL

THAT APPLY

Young people . . . . .  
First offenders . . . . .  
Petty offenders . . . . .  
Non-violent offenders. . .  
Prisoners near the end of  
their sentence . . . . .  
Don't know . . . . .  
Other answer (specify) . .

A  
1  
2  
3  
4  
5  
7  
6

Y X O  
1 2 3  
4 5 6  
7 8 9

- b. About how many men would you think escape in a year from open prisons? ("By escape I mean get right away, at least for a short time")

(IF FIRST ANSWER IS "No idea" PRONE:

"Roughly how many would you guess?") . . . . .

No idea

Number

K

X

57. About how many men would you think escape from prisons of all sorts in a year. ("By escape, I mean get right away, at least for a short time")  
(IF FIRST ANSWER IS "No idea", PROBE: Roughly how many would you guess?) . . . . .

No idea.

58. How much do you think it costs to keep a man in prison for a week - I mean the total cost including food, accommodation, paying the prison staff, heating and so on? . . . . .

No idea.

59. About how many men would you think there are altogether in prisons in England and Wales now?

(IF FIRST ANSWER IS "No idea", ASK: Roughly how many would you guess?)

DO NOT  
PROMPT

1,000 or less . . . . .  
Over 1,000 to 5,000 . . . . .  
Over 5,000 to 10,000 . . . . .  
Over 10,000 to 20,000 . . . . .  
Over 20,000 to 30,000 . . . . .  
Over 30,000 to 40,000 . . . . .  
Over 40,000 to 50,000 . . . . .

Over 50,000 to 100,000 . . . . .  
Over 100,000 to 500,000 . . . . .  
Over 500,000 . . . . .  
No idea . . . . .

Answer given within wider  
range than above precodes  
(specify) . . . . .

60. Have you ever had the feeling of being shut in anywhere?  
(If "Yes": probe for the facts and specify verbatim)

Yes (Probe for details  
and specify) . . . . .  
No . . . . .

Number		
		X
X		
£.	s.	
X		X
0		
1		
2		
3		
4		K
5		K
6		
7		
8		
9		
X		
Y		
Y X 0		
1 2 3		
4 5 6		
7 8 9		
1		
2		
Y X 0		
1 2 3		
4 5 6		
7 8 9		
O	.	U
F		S
F.		E

# H. CHARACTERISTICS/HABITUALS

I. 23  
II. 5

## H. CHARACTERISTICS OF HABITUAL OFFENDERS

"Now can we go on to talk about habitual offenders - that is, men who keep on breaking the law and being convicted and punished more than once"

"People have different ideas as to what habitual offenders are like"

61a. Some think that . . . (Ask for A - O in turn). Do you think this is true of any habitual offenders? (Code in Column a)

b. If "Yes": Do you think it is true of nearly all; or more than half; or less than half; or very few? (Code in Column b)

USE PROMPT  
CARD

	Q.61a. Column a		Q.61b. If "Yes" Column b.						
	No	Yes	DNA	Nearly All	More than half	Less than half	Very few	Qual. answer	Don't know
A. They live among criminals .	7	8	A	1	2	3	4	5	6
B. They do things for the excitement of it - for kicks . . . . .	7	8	A	1	2	3	4	5	6
C. Their parents did not bring them up to know right from wrong . . . . .	7	8	A	1	2	3	4	5	6
D. They make their living out of crime . . . . .	7	8	A	1	2	3	4	5	6
E. They are too lazy to do an honest day's work . . . . .	7	8	A	1P	2P	3	4	5	6
F. They are mentally unbalanced . . . . .	7	8	A	1	2	3	4	5	6
G. They feel they were never given a proper chance in life . . . . .	7	8	A	1	2	3	4	5	6
H. They just give no thought to the harm they do . . . . .	7	8	A	1	2	3	4	5	6
I. They turn to crime because they get themselves into debt . . . . .	7	8	A	1	2	3	4	5	6
J. They are too easily led . .	7	8	A	1	2	3	4	5	6
K. They are unintelligent . .	7	8	A	1	2	3	4	5	6
L. They easily lose control of themselves . . . . .	7	8	A	1	2	3	4	5	6
M. They can't fit into everyday life . . . . .	7	8	A	1	2	3	4	5	6
N. They have family difficulties, or no settled home .	7	8	A	1	2	3	4	5	6
O. They turn to crime because they feel they must rebel against something . . . . .	7	8	A	1	2	3	4	5	6

I. VICTIMS (INCIDENCE)

I. VICTIMS

I. 24

III. 24

"I'd like to mention to you a few things which may happen to people, and I'd like you to tell me if any of them have ever happened to you, or to a relative of yours, or to anyone else you know well".

62. First, have you yourself, or your relatives, or anyone else you know well ever . . . . (Mention each of items A - E)  
(Code/Probe for all three of (a), (b) and (c))

If "Yes" for SELF

- i) How many times has this happened to you?  
ii) Of these, how many times was it reported to the police?  
iii) Did any of the things you've counted take place outside England or Wales? (If so, enter second pair of numbers, in brackets, to show number of times happened, and reported, in England and/or Wales)

	a. YOURSELF			b. YOUR RELATIVES		c. ANYONE ELSE YOU KNOW WELL	
	Yes No	Number of times	Number of times reported to Police	Yes No		Yes No	
A. Had a house, or any other premises broken into (whether or not anything was stolen) .	Y X			0 1		2 3	
B. Had anything stolen (that is, apart from things stolen during housebreakings and so on that you've already mentioned) . .	4 5			6 7		8 9	
C. Been attacked by anyone . . . . .	Y X			0 1		2 3	
D. Had anything deliberately damaged. . . .	4 5			6 7		8 9	
E. Had anything else against the law happen to you/them (specify below)	Y X			0 1		2 3	

INTERVIEWER  
SEE INSTRUCTIONS

INTERVIEWER  
SEE INSTRUCTIONS

TOTAL NO. OF INCIDENTS  
EXPERIENCED AND REPORTED  
IN ENGLAND AND/OR WALES

OFF. USE

E. Offence (s)	Victim (s)	
		Y X 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
		Y X 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

I. VICTIMS (UNREPORTED CRIME)

IF NOTHING HAS HAPPENED TO SELF IN ENGLAND/WALES,  
OMIT THIS PAGE AND RING DNA HERE . . . . . DNA . . .

A

IF MORE THAN ONE THING HAS HAPPENED TO SELF, ASK Q. 63 a.

IF ONLY ONE THING HAS HAPPENED TO SELF, ASK Q. 63 b.

63. a. Which one of the things that have happened to you was the most recent? Could you describe briefly what happened?

b. You said that you . . (Use description from Q. 64) ←  
Could you describe briefly what happened?  
(CODE ITEM LETTER, AND DESCRIBE OFFENCE)

A. . . . . 1  
B. . . . . 2  
C. . . . . 3  
D. . . . . 4  
E. . . . . 5

Y X O  
1 2 3  
4 5 6  
7 8 9

Yrs Mths

64. How long ago did it happen? . . . . .

D.K.

1

65. Was it reported to the police?

Yes. . . . . 1  
No. . . . . 2 Ask a  
D.K. . . . . 3

If "No" (2)

a. Why wasn't it reported to the police?

DNA . . .

A

Y X O  
1 2 3  
4 5 6  
7 8 9

66. Was the offender taken to court?

Yes. . . . . 1  
No. . . . . 2  
D.K. . . . . 3

## I. VICTIMS (UPSETTING EXPERIENCES)

IF NOTHING HAS HAPPENED TO ANYONE (IN ANY COUNTRY),

GO ON TO PAGE 30 AND RING DNA HERE . . . . . DNA . . . . .

A

IF MORE THAN ONE THING HAS HAPPENED TO ANYONE, ASK Q. 67 a

IF ONLY ONE THING HAS HAPPENED TO ANYONE, ASK Q. 67 b

67. a. You've (told me what happened to yourself) and/or  
(mentioned things that have happened to other people  
you know); was there anything you found particularly  
upsetting at the time about any of these things?

b. You told me (you/your relative/someone you know well)  
had/was (describe type of offence from Q. 64) -  
did you find this particularly upsetting at the time?

Nothing upsetting . . . . .

1 G4 to P.30

Yes, something upsetting.

2

If "Yes" something upsetting(2)

68. Can you give me a short description of what happened?

(IF MORE THAN ONE INCIDENT FOUND UPSETTING, ASK ABOUT

THE MOST UPSETTING ONE).

DNA . . . . .

A

DESCRIBE INCIDENT AND CODE VICTIM(S)

VICTIM(S)

Self. . . . .

1

Relative. . . . .

2

Other . . . . .

3

Y X O

1 2 3

4 5 6

7 8 9

Y X O

1 2 3

4 5 6

7 8 9

69. What do you feel was the worst thing about it?

(If more than one thing mentioned, probe for "worst")

Y X O

1 2 3

4 5 6

7 8 9

Yrs

Mths

70. How long ago was it? . . . . .

D.K. . . . .

1

I. VICTIMS

I. 27  
III. 27

71. Did the police get to know about it?

Yes . . . . .  
No. . . . .  
Don't know . . . . .

1  
2  
3

If "Yes" (1)

a. Was it reported by someone, or did the police  
come of their own accord, or just chance to be  
there when it happened?

D.N.A. . . . .  
Reported by someone . . . . .  
Police came of own accord/chanced to be there  
Don't know. . . . .

A  
4  
5 Ask ai  
6

If "Police did not get to know of it" (5)

ai. Why wasn't it reported to the police?

D.N.A. . . . .  
D.K. . . . .

A  
1  
Y X O  
1 2 3  
4 5 6  
7 8 9

72. Do you/do they (victim) know definitely who did it; or suspect  
someone; or have you/they no idea who did it?

Know definitely. . . . .  
Suspect someone. . . . .  
No idea. . . . .

Y  
X  
O

If "know" or "suspect" (Y or X)

a. Was it a relative (of victim)  
or someone else?

D.N.A. . . . .  
Relative. . . . .  
Someone else. . . . .

A  
1  
2

73. Was he caught - by the police or anyone else?

If so: Who by? (PROBE FOR DETAILS)

Not caught. . . . .  
Caught by, or handed over to  
police . . . . .  
Caught by someone else, not  
handed over to police. . . . .

3  
4 Ask a  
5

If "Caught" (4 or 5)

a. Was he taken to court and found guilty, warned  
by the police, or punished in any other way?

D.N.A. . . . .

Taken to court and found guilty  
Warned by the police . . . . .  
Lost his job . . . . .  
No punishment (or only verbal  
chastisement) . . . . .  
Don't know . . . . .  
Other punishment (specify) . . . . .

A  
1  
2  
3  
4  
6 Omit b  
5

Y X O  
1 2 3  
4 5 6  
7 8 9

b. (Code D.N.A. and omit Q if answer to (a) is D.K.(6))

Do you think he got more than he deserved; about what  
he deserved; or less than he deserved? D.N.A. . . . .

More than deserved . . . . .  
What he deserved . . . . .  
Less than deserved . . . . .  
Other answer (specify) . . . . .

A  
1  
2  
3  
4

Y X O  
1 2 3  
4 5 6  
7 8 9

IF NOTHING STOLEN, OMIT THIS PAGE AND RING DNA HERE . . . . DNA . . .

74. Roughly how much were the stolen goods worth?

(Interviewer: including cash)

PROMPT

IF

NEEDED

Under £5 . . . . .  
Between £5 and £25 . . . . .  
Over £25 to £50 . . . . .  
Over £50 to £100 . . . . .  
Over £100 to £200 . . . . .  
Over £200 to £500 . . . . .  
Over £500 to £1000 . . . . .  
Over £1,000 . . . . .  
No idea . . . . .

A

Y

X

0

1

2

3

4

5

6

75. Was any cash stolen?

Yes . . . . .  
No . . . . .  
Don't know . . . . .

7 Ask a,b

8

9

If "Yes" (7)

DNA . .

A

£ s

a. How much? . . . . .

D.K. . .

X

b. Was any of the cash savings?

Yes . . . . .  
No . . . . .  
Don't know . . . . .

1 Ask bi

2

3

If "Yes" (1)

DNA . .

A

£ s

bi. How much was savings? . . . . .

No idea . .

X

76. Was anything of special sentimental value stolen?

Yes . . . . .  
No . . . . .  
Don't know . . . . .

1

2

3

77. Did you/they get any of the property back?

Yes . . . . .  
No . . . . .  
Don't know . . . . .

4

5

6

78. Was any of it insured?

Yes . . . . .  
No . . . . .  
Don't know . . . . .

Y Ask a

0

X

If "Yes" (Y)

a. Was a claim made to the insurance?

If so: Did you/they get most (or all) of  
the value of the property back from the  
insurance; a good deal less than the  
value; or nothing?

DNA . .

A

NO CLAIM MADE . . . . .  
Nothing back . . . . .  
Good deal less . . . . .  
Most or all of value . . . . .  
DON'T KNOW WHETHER CLAIM  
MADE . . . . .  
CLAIM MADE, DON'T KNOW WHAT  
RESULT . . . . .

1

2

3

4

6

5

IF NO INJURY OR ATTACK OMIT THIS PAGE AND CODE D.N.A.

79. What was the worst injury you (or anyone else you know well) suffered? (Probe for worst if not clear from description) DNA . .		A
CODE WORST	PROMPT	Death, or injury which has led to death . . . . . Y
THAT APPLIES	IF	Permanent disablement or disfigurement . . . . . X
TO INFORMANT	NEEDED	Broken bones . . . . . 0
OR TO ANY		Concussion . . . . . 1
VICTIM OF		Wounds requiring stitches . . . . . 2
INCIDENT WELL		Shock . . . . . 3
KNOWN TO INFORMANT		Bruises or grazes only . . . . . 4
		Don't know . . . . . 6
		Other answer (specify) . . . . . 5
		Y X 0
		1 2 3
		4 5 6
		7 8 9
80. Were you/they/anyone you know well detained in hospital for more than one night?		
Yes . . . . .		Y
No . . . . .		X
Don't know . . . . .		0
81. Did you/they get any money in compensation, either from the person who did it, or from their own insurance?		
Yes . . . . .		1 Ask a, b
No . . . . .		2
Don't know . . . . .		3
If "Yes" (1)		
a. Where did you/they get the money from? D.N.A. . . . .		A
The offender (court judgement) . . . . .		4
Compensation Board . . . . .		5
Own (Victim's) insurance . . . . .		6
Don't know . . . . .		8
Other answer (specify) . . . . .		7
		Y X 0
		1 2 3
		4 5 6
		7 8 9
b. Do you think you/they got enough, rather too little, or much too little money?		
D.N.A. . . . .		A
Enough . . . . .		2
Rather too little . . . . .		3
Much too little . . . . .		4
Too much (UNPROMPTED) . . . . .		1
Other answer (specify) . . . . .		5
		Y X 0
		1 2 3
		4 5 6
		7 8 9

## INTERVIEWER

IF "Money can't pay for suffering", ASK: "So far as money can help, do you think . . . . . etc.

TO ALL

TO ALL

TO ALL

82. What one crime do you most fear (are you most afraid)  
 might happen to you?  
 (DESCRIBE OFFENCE, AND STATE WHETHER AGAINST SELF OR  
 MEMBER OF FAMILY (SPECIFY WHO))

None . . . .

Y X O  
 1 2 3  
 4 5 6  
 7 8

9

Y X O  
 1 2 3  
 4 5 6  
 7 8 9

If any crime named

- a. What do you think are the chances of it happening?  
 (PROMPT IF NEEDED - "1 in 3 or 1 in 10,000, or what  
 do you think?")

D.N.A. . . .

A

Y X O  
 1 2 3  
 4 5 6  
 7 8 9

83. In cases of theft, which do you think is more important -  
 for the police to catch the criminal, or for them to get the  
 stolen property back, or do you think both are equally  
 important?

Catch the criminal . . . .  
 Get back stolen property.  
 Both equally important. . .  
 Don't know . . . . .  
 Other answer (specify) . .

1 P

3

2

5

4

Y X O  
 1 2 3  
 4 5 6  
 7 8 9

P. CLASSIFICATIONa. HOUSEHOLD CLASSIFICATION

## PERSON NO'S

i. RING HOH'S NUMBER	Relationship to INFORMANT (IF INFORMANT IS HOH, WRITE IN "(HOH)" IN BRACKETS HERE)	Age	Sex M F	Marital Status M S W/D sep.	Working? Full Part.	Unoccupied Ret'd H/W Other
1	INFORMANT		Y X	0 1 2	3 4 5	6 7
2			Y X	0 1 2	3 4 5	6 7
3			Y X	0 1 2	3 4 5	6 7
4			Y X	0 1 2	3 4 5	6 7
5			Y X	0 1 2	3 4 5	6 7
6			Y X	0 1 2	3 4 5	6 7
7			Y X	0 1 2	3 4 5	6 7
8			Y X	0 1 2	3 4 5	6 7
9			Y X	0 1 2	3 4 5	6 7
10			Y X	0 1 2	3 4 5	6 7

b. INFORMANTb. INFORMANTOFF.  
USEii. Occupation (job, title, grade - describe fully)Y X 0  
1 2 3  
4 5 6  
7 8 9iii. Industry. Describe fully. If manufacturing or processing,  
describe type of goodsY X 0  
1 2 3  
4 5 6  
7 8 9iv. Employment status.Employer . . . . . 1) Ask  
Manager . . . . . 2) iva  
Self-employed . . . . . 3)  
Employee . . . . . 4

If Employer, Manager or Self-employed (1, 2 or 3) DNA . . . A

iv a. Number employed/managed by subject (etc.) →

v. Last Place of Full-time Education

University . . . . . 1  
 Public School/Grammar/pre-1947 Secondary . . . . . 2  
 Technical College . . . . . 3  
 Technical School . . . . . 4  
 Pre-1947 Central/Intermediate/Higher Grade . . . . . 5  
 Post-1947 Comprehensive . . . . . 6  
 Secondary Modern/Elementary/any non-Grammar  
 Denominational School . . . . . 7  
 Private Commercial Schools/Colleges (Pitmans etc.) . . . . . 8  
 Other (describe fully) . . . . . 9

Y X 0  
1 2 3  
4 5 6  
7 8 9

b. INFORMANT (cont.)

vi. House/flat ownership.

Does anyone in your household own (outright or on mortgage)  
this house/flat?

Yes, house . . . . . 1  
Yes, flat or maisonette . . . . . 2  
No . . . . . 3

vii. Where do you mostly get your information and ideas from  
about crime and the other things we've been talking about?

CODE ALL Newspapers: local . . . . . Y  
National (Daily and/or Sunday) . . . . . X  
THAT APPLY Books, thrillers, magazines (Excl. specialist  
journals (Code 9)) . . . . . 0  
Reports, news, documentaries on TV and/or  
Radio (Excl. TV or Radio Fiction (Code 2)) . . . . . 1  
Plays, films, TV or Radio Fiction . . . . . 2  
Talking: At home . . . . . 3  
At work . . . . . 4  
To other friends . . . . . 5  
To casual acquaintances . . . . . 6  
Personal experience . . . . . 7  
Other people's accounts of their personal  
experiences . . . . . 8  
Other (specify) . . . . . 9

Do not Prompt,  
but Probe for  
details if  
Papers, TV,  
Radio or Talk.

If more than one source of information mentioned in (vii) above

a. Which one of the things you've mentioned has given you the  
ideas you agree with most strongly? DNA . . . . .

ENTER CODE NUMBER FROM MAIN QUESTION →

If "National Newspapers" (X) entered in part a. DNA . . . . .

ai. Which paper or papers are you thinking of?

viii. How many times (if any) have you moved to a new  
address during the past 24 months? →

P. CLASSIFICATION

I. 33  
II. 23  
III. 33

c. INFORMANT AND HOH

- ix. Income. Show card and enter code number from either side  
(If informant is HOH, enter same number in both  
squares)

Inf.	HOH

d. HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD, IF HOH IS NOT INFORMANT

INA (informant is HoH)

- x. Occupation of HoH (job, title, grade - describe fully)

A END  
INTER  
VIEW

Y X O  
1 2 3  
4 5 6  
7 8 9

- xi. Industry of HoH. (Describe fully. If manufacturing or  
processing, describe type of goods)

Y X O  
1 2 3  
4 5 6  
7 8 9

- xii. INTERVIEWER. From whom was above information about  
occupation and industry of HoH obtained? (Write in  
person no(s) from Household Box) →

--

APPENDIX II (ii)

Additional questions used in Schedule-types II and III

The following Sections (L-0) were used only in Schedule-Types II and III.

The first part of the Appendix shows the order in which they appeared in relation to each other on each schedule, and in relation to sections reproduced from Schedule-type I.

L. REASONS FOR BECOMING  
HABITUALS

II 6  
III 22

L. REASONS FOR BECOMING HABITUAL OFFENDERS

"People also have different ideas about why some men  
keep on breaking the law after they've been to prison"

88 a. Some say that (Ask for A to G in turn). Do you think this  
is true of any men who keep on breaking the law after they've  
been in prison? (Code in Column a)

b. If "Yes": Do you think this is true of nearly all; or more than  
half; or less than half; or very few of them? (Code in Column b)

	88a.		88b.							
	Col. a.		If "Yes" Col. b.							
	No	Yes	DNA	Nearly all	More than half	Less than half	Very few	Qual. answer	Don't know	
A. They're made that way; they're the sort of people nothing can stop	7	8	A	1	2	5	6	3	4	
B. They don't mind going to prison, because they make a lot of money out of crime in between prison sentences.	7	8	A	1	2	5	6	3	4	
C. They just don't think about the risks when they commit a crime . . . . .	7	8	A	1	2	5	6	3	4	
D. In prison they mix with other criminals and come to accept crime as a way of life . . . . .	7	8	A	1	2	5	6	3	4	
E. They find prison life so tough it changes them for the worse . . . . .	7	8	A	1	2	5	6	3	4	
F. They don't mind being in prison because they get used to it . . . . .	7	8	A	1	2	5	6	3	4	
G. They are not accepted by ordinary people when they come out of prison so they turn to crime again . . . . .	7	8	A	1	2	5	6	3	4	

M. REDUCING HABITUALS

II. 7  
III. 23

M. MEANS OF REDUCING NUMBER OF HABITUAL PRISONERS

"It has been suggested that some men who nowadays keep on breaking the law after they've been in prison, would stop if they were dealt with differently".

- 89a. Do you think any of today's habitual prisoners would give up breaking the law if . . . (Ask for A to F in turn and code in Column a)
- b. If "Yes": How many habitual prisoners do you think this would stop breaking the law in future - nearly all; or more than half; or less than half; or very few? (Code in Column b)

	89a.		89b.							
	Col.a.		If "Yes" Column b.							
	No	Yes	DNA	Nearly all	More than half	Less than half	Very few	Qual. answer	Don't know	
A. Prison sentences were longer . . . . .	7	8	A	1 P	2 P	5	6	3	4	
B. Prison life was made harder (tougher) . . .	7	8	A	1 P	2 P	5	6	3	4	
C. They were trained during their prison sentence for a job they wanted to do when they came out	7	8	A	1	2	5	6	3	4	
D. They were given more advice and help to prepare them for life outside prison . . .	7	8	A	1	2	5	6	3	4	
E. Prison life was made more interesting . . .	7	8	A	1	2	5	6	3	4	
F. They were dealt with in a different way instead of being sent to prison	7	8	A	1	2	5	6	3	4	

If Codes (1), (2) or (5) ringed to Part F (last item)

- c. What different sort of punishment were you thinking of, and for what sort of law-breaker (offender)? (Probe fully)

SORT OF PUNISHMENT SUITABLE	SORT OF OFFENDER FOR WHOM SUITABLE	DNA		A	
		Y	X	0	
		1	2	3	
		4	5	6	
		7	8	9	
		Y	X	0	
		1	2	3	
		4	5	6	
		7	8	9	
		Y	X	0	
		1	2	3	
		4	5	6	
		7	8	9	
		Y	X	0	
		1	2	3	
		4	5	6	
		7	8	9	

## N. AGGRAVATING AND EXTENUATING CIRCUMSTANCES

"I'd like to know now whether you think differences between the people who commit the same sorts of crime should affect the punishment they get".

## FOLLOW SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS

- Q.90. Two crimes of exactly the same sort are committed. Of the people doing them . .  
(REPEAT AS NEEDED FOR B TO F)

		PROMPTED			UNPROMPTED		
		MORE	LESS	SAME	Different type of punishment	Other answer	Don't know
A. One has never been convicted before; the other <u>has</u> been convicted.							
	Should both get the same punishment, or should one get more, the other less? (REPEAT FOR B TO F)	1	4	3	6	7	8
B. One is a person who has changed his job a lot. The other has kept a steady job.	Never convicted.	5	2				
	Convicted before.						
C. One is mentally unbalanced. The other is not.	Changed job	1	4	3	6	7	8
	Steady job	5	2				
D. One comes from a happy family. The other has no family or friends as was brought up in an orphanage.	Mentally unbalanced	1	4	3	6	7	8
	Not unbalanced	5	2				
E. Both steal necessities (food etc.). One is too poor to buy them. The other <u>could</u> afford to buy them.	Happy family	1	4	3	6	7	8
	No family	5	2				
F. Neither have been convicted before, themselves. One comes from a criminal family. The other is not from a criminal family.	Too poor . .	1	4	3	6	7	8
	Could afford	5	2				
Should both . . . . ?	Criminal family.	1	4	3	6	7	8
	Not Criminal family.	5	2				

"Now I'd like to ask you about differences  
between crimes committed by the same sort  
of person".

- Q.91. Exactly the same sort of person does it . .  
(REPEAT AS NEEDED FOR G TO J)

		PROMPTED			UNPROMPTED		
		MORE	LESS	SAME	Different type of punishment	Other answer	Don't know
G. Both do the same thing. One plans it beforehand The other does it on the spur of the moment  Should both get the same punishment, or should one get more, the other less? (REPEAT FOR H TO J)							
	Planned beforehand On spur of moment.	1 5	4 2	3	6	7	8
H. Both are thieves. One steals a large amount of money. The other steals a small amount.  Should both . . . . ?	Large amount	1	4				
	Small amount	5	2	3	6	7	8
I. One injures someone who has provoked him in a quarrel. The other injures someone who has not provoked him.  Should both . . . . ?	Provoked . .	1	4				
	Not provoked	5	2	3	6	7	8
J. One steals something that is very easy to take. The other steals something that is well protected.  Should both . . . . ?	Easy to take	1	4				
	Well protected	5	2	3	6	7	8

N. AGGRAVATING AND EXTENUATING

II 10  
III 8

"Now I'd like your opinions about punishment when  
the crime itself is the same, but is committed  
against different sorts of people".

		PROMPTED			UNPROMPTED		
		MORE	LESS	SAME	Different type of punishment	Other answer	Don't know
Q.92.							
K.	Two men have stolen things of the same value. One stole from a big store or large organisation; the other stole from a small local shop.						
	Should both get the same punishment, or should one get more, the other less? (REPEAT FOR L TO N)	Big store etc	1 4	3	6	7	8
		Small local shop.	5 2				
L.	One stole from a rich person. The other stole from a poor person.						
	Should both . . . . ?	Rich person . .	1 4	3	6	7	8
		Poor person . .	5 2				
M.	One attacked an old person or a child; the other attacked someone who was able to defend himself. (It wasn't a sexual attack).						
	Should both . . . . ?	Old or child	1 4	3	6	7	8
		Able to defend	5 2				
N.	One deliberately damaged <u>private</u> property; the other deliberately damaged <u>public</u> property.						
	Should both . . . . ?	Private property	1 4	3	6	7	8
		Public property	5 2				

O. LAWBREAKING: OTHERS/SELF"Imagine you were having a conversation about crime"One person said

- (A) 'I would not normally break the law however likely it seemed I would get away with it'.

Another said

- (B) 'I might break
- some
- laws so long as I thought I would get away with it'.

93. On the whole, which of these two people do you think
- MOST
- people are like - the one who said (
- Repeat A
- ), or the one who said (
- Repeat B
- )?

Most are more like A (would not break the law)  
Most are more like B (might break the law) . .1  
2

94. What do you think is the
- main
- thing that stops most people breaking the law?
- 
- (If more than one thing mentioned PROBE for MAIN ("most important") thing)

DO NOT      Conscience; feeling it is wrong; upbringing  
PROMPT      Chances of being caught . . . . .  
Other answer (specify) . . . . .3  
4  
5Y X O  
1 2 3  
4 5 6  
7 8 9"Going back to the two people with different opinions about breaking the law. I'll just repeat what they said -One said

- (A) 'I would not normally break the law however likely it seemed I would get away with it'.

The other said

- (B) 'I might break
- some
- laws so long as I thought I would get away with it'.

95. Do you think you yourself are more like the first person, or more like the second?

I am more like A (would not break the law) . . . .  
I am more like B (might break the law) . . . . .7  
8

O. LAWBREAKING: OTHERS/SELF

II. 12  
III. 11

96. What do you think is the main thing that stops you breaking the law or holds you back if you are tempted to break it?  
(If more than one thing mentioned, PROBE for MAIN ("most important") thing)

DO NOT  
PROMPT  
Conscience; feeling it is wrong;  
upbringing . . . . .  
Chances of being caught . . . . .  
Other answer (specify) . . . . .

1
2
3
Y X O
1 2 3
4 5 6
7 8 9

"There are things that some people don't really think of as law-breaking at the time they do them"  
For instance -

97. Have you at any time in your life -

i) Travelled on the railway, bus or tube without paying? Yes . .  
No . .  
ii) Taken anything from work which you weren't really strictly supposed to? Yes . .  
No . .

1
2
3
4

98. Supposing you were caught by the police breaking the law, which would worry you most - having to appear in court or thinking of the sentence you might get?

Court . . . . .  
Sentence . . . . .  
Both equally (unprompted) . . . . .  
Don't know . . . . .  
Other answer (specify) . . . . .

5
6
7
9
8
Y X O
1 2 3
4 5 6
7 8 9

## APPENDIX II (iii)

### Card Sorts and Prompt Cards

#### Card Sorts

Packs of cards were used for the questions on the seriousness (Q.3) and frequency (Q.4) of crimes. The crimes concerned were each described on a separate card, in the words given on the interviewing schedule. A white card pack was used for Q.3 and a separate pink-tinted card pack for Q.4. Each card was marked in the right-hand corner with the letter preceding the crime it described as shown on the schedule. Each card measured  $3\frac{1}{2}$ " x 2", was printed on material similar to the normal visiting card, but treated with transparent plastic material which prevented adhesion of one card to another, and enabled the cards to be sponged should they become dirty after handling by several informants.

#### Prompt cards.

Prompt cards were given to informants to enable them to recall the scales used on a number of battery-questions. This did not exonerate the interviewer from reading the scales when asking the questions if the informant did not reply spontaneously in terms of the scale. The scale prompt-cards were introduced because of the monotony and irritating effect of repeating the same scale verbally, which affects different informants at different points in the interview. Two cards are reproduced below. They were printed on the same material as the smaller packs of cards.

SS.396
A LOT OF DIFFERENCE
SOME DIFFERENCE
A LITTLE DIFFERENCE
NO DIFFERENCE

SS.396

NEARLY ALL

MORE THAN HALF

LESS THAN HALF

VERY FEW

The income of the informant and/of of the head of the Household was determined in the usual way, by handing the informant a card on which a range of numbered incomes was printed and asking him to state the appropriate number, rather than a sum of money. In this case a two-sided card was used, one side relating to Income Last Week and the other to the Present Annual Income. The number could be read out from whichever side the informant chose, since the weekly and annual incomes were correspondingly numbered. In the present instance eight income ranges were used.

### APPENDIX III

#### Differences between Schedule-type in the distribution of responses to certain question-sequences.

##### i. Introduction.

This inquiry is based on very long interviews in which people were asked detailed questions on matters to which many may have given only superficial thought before, and asking people for their attitudes towards propositions which many may not have formulated in the same manner, or at all, before.

An interview of this kind, concerned mainly with quite closely inter-related matters, is potentially educative, in that in the mere process of thinking about his attitudes in earlier questions may modify a person's attitude to later subjects.

As explained in the introduction to this report, each question was included in two of the three schedule-types used, the sequence within subject-section remaining the same, but the order of sections differing. (The section-ordering within schedule type was planned in collaboration with the Field Section of the Social Survey so that each schedule-type should hold the informants' interest to an optimum extent - e.g. by avoiding such things as just a posing several sections all framed in a similar scale-choice) and possibly introducing boredom through repetitiveness.

Responses to each schedule-type were separately tabulated. In a few cases systematic differences between schedule in the pattern of response to section batteries were found. In a small number of cases these differences, though not usually great, were consistently significant statistically at at least the 5% level (i.e. they were of a size that could have occurred only five out of a hundred times as a result of sampling fluctuations).

These systematic differences between the responses to the same questions when asked on different schedule are discussed below. It will be realised that any explanations suggested are highly speculative.

##### ii. The seriousness of difference crimes.

The first systematic difference occurred in response to Q.3 - the card-sort question in which informants were asked to sort into two separate piles those offences which they personally thought serious, and not serious. The question occurred in Schedule types I and III and the differing distributions which reached the 5% level of statistical significance are shown in Table A.

TABLE A

Differences Between Schedule Types I and III in the Distribution of Some Answers in Section C (Relative Seriousness and Frequency of Offences).

	Schedule Type I	Schedule Type III
Base of %: all informants	958	946
Proportion who think the following offences are serious	%	%
Housebreaking	65	57
Breaking into a factory	52	40
Taking away a motor vehicle without owner's consent	27	21
Being drunk and disorderly	20	18
Travelling on a bus, train, etc. without paying the fare	12	9
Fraud	69	60
Stealing (without violence)	36	30
Fighting (common assault)	33	27
Vagrancy	13	7

There was a systematic tendency for those interviewed on Schedule-type I to classify more types of offences as serious than those interviewed on type III.

In Schedule - type I this question followed questions relating to the causes of crime and means of catching more law-breakers (Question-batteries 1 and 2).

It seems possible that of the ten statements on which informants were asked to state their opinion in question-battery 1, some may have led some informants to modify their views on the seriousness of crimes in general. Although presented as possible "causes" of crime most of these statements could be construed as "excuses" for crime, rationalisations of motive, or as blaming crime on the ineffectiveness or inefficiency of others (parents, teachers). Some blamed crime on the moral or ethical state of society or the world.

It is difficult to see how the statements in question-battery 2 ("ways of catching more criminals") might have effected responses to the present question battery, unless statements suggesting undermining in the police force, or the possibility of improving police methods might have done so.

In Schedule-Type III the card-sort question on the seriousness of different crimes followed only a single battery relating to the purpose of sentencing, which does not seem in any obvious way to include items which might influence responses to the first-names battery.

In the writer's opinion, therefore, it is probably the thought-provoking sequences in schedule-type I which led to a toughening-up of some peoples attitudes to several individual crimes, by placing their evaluation of these crimes in the context of an evaluation of the causes of crime in general.

### iii. Prisons.

Table B, overleaf, shows differences between schedule in the distribution of the answers to some of the questions in the Prison section, which are significant in at least the 5% level of confidence.

As can be seen from this table, most of the differences are small.

Examination of the items that appear in the table shows that:-

1. Three of them (Nos. 4-6) relate to aid to prisoners' families. Informants interviewed on Schedule Type III were slightly more likely than those interviewed on Schedule Type I, to be unable to answer the knowledge questions on this subject and, probably as a consequence, the opinion question as well.

No satisfactory reasons present themselves for differences between the two groups of informants in this particular area of knowledge, and there were no comparable differences on any other knowledge questions in the Prisons Section.

2. Another three items (Nos. 1-3) were items which measured punitiveness (i.e. attitudes to jobs and pay in prison, and the severity of prison life). The table shows that informants interviewed on Schedule Type I were slightly more punitive than those interviewed on Schedule Type III.

There are two possible explanations for this:

a) Type III informants are shown in the table (Item No. 8) to have been more likely than Type I informants to have had some experience of a comparable nature to being shut up in prison, and hence they may have been possibly more likely to have taken a less punitive line. This may be a genuine random sampling fluctuation.

b) The different ordering and content of other sections on the two Schedule Types may have had an effect on informant's attitudes. Schedule Type III contained the Section which dealt with their self-image in relation to the law and questioned them about their own potential criminal behaviour and what they thought prevented them from breaking the law. The final question in this Section was "Supposing you were caught by the police breaking the law, which would worry you most - having to appear in court or thinking of the sentence you might get?"

This Section did not appear at all on Schedule Type I and on Schedule Type III it immediately preceded the Prisons Section.

TABLE B.

	Schedule Type I	Schedule Type III
Base of %: all informants	958	946
	%	%
1) Prisoners should be allowed to do proper jobs with normal rates of pay	28	33
2) Prisoners should not be allowed to do the same sort of jobs as men outside prison/allowed to do proper jobs but at much less pay - because they've committed a crime and should be punished	40	35
3) Prisons should be more severe than they are now	48	43
Prisons should stay the same	35	31
Prisons should be less severe than they are now	7	5
Some should be more severe and some less severe	6	11
Other answers/don't know	4	10
4) Prisoners' families can get help from National Assistance	84	79
Prisoners' families cannot get help from National Assistance	2	2
Don't know	14	19
5) Prisoners' families can get other official help	29	28
Prisoners' families cannot get other official help	29	25
Don't know	42	47
6) Prisoners' families get too much official help	4	4
Prisoners' families get the right amount of official help	45	40
Prisoners' families get too little official help	22	21
Other answers/don't know	29	35
7) First offenders should be sent to open prisons	26	35
Petty offenders should be sent to open prisons	45	40
8) Have had experiences of feeling shut in (- personal phobias)	36 (24)	42 (29)
Have never had the feeling of being shut in	64	58

It is possible that this had the effect of making Type III informants react more subjectively to the thought of prison and thus, through identification, caused them to take a less punitive line.

iv) Ways of Treating first Offenders.

There were differences (significant at at least the 5% level of confidence) between schedule types II and III in the distribution of most answers in the Section on the nature of the sentence for first offenders. These are shown in Table C.

TABLE C.

	Schedule Type II	Schedule Type III
Base of %: all informants	942	946
<u>First offenders who have not injured anyone should be -</u>	%	%
<u>Made to pay back for what stolen or damage done</u>		
Applies to nearly all	72	80
<u>Sent to prison, borstal or somewhere like that</u>		
Yes	23	35
Applies to nearly all	5	12
<u>Warned they will go to prison (borstal) if commit an offence again</u>		
Applies to nearly all	75	82
<u>Given any advice they need or help in finding a job</u>		
Applies to nearly all	74	82
<u>Told to report regularly to the police</u>		
Yes	53	64
Applies to nearly all	29	40
<u>Fined</u>		
Yes	75	82
Applies to nearly all	41	48

In Schedule-type II this section on first offenders opened the interview. It included seven statements in the main battery (Q.84 - A to G), six of which showed statistically significant differences in the distribution of responses from those from Schedule III informants.

In Schedule-type III the following sections all to do with sentencing preceded the section on first offenders :

- Purpose of sentencing (9 items)
- Aggravating and Extenuating Circumstances (14 items)
- Driving offences (4 items)

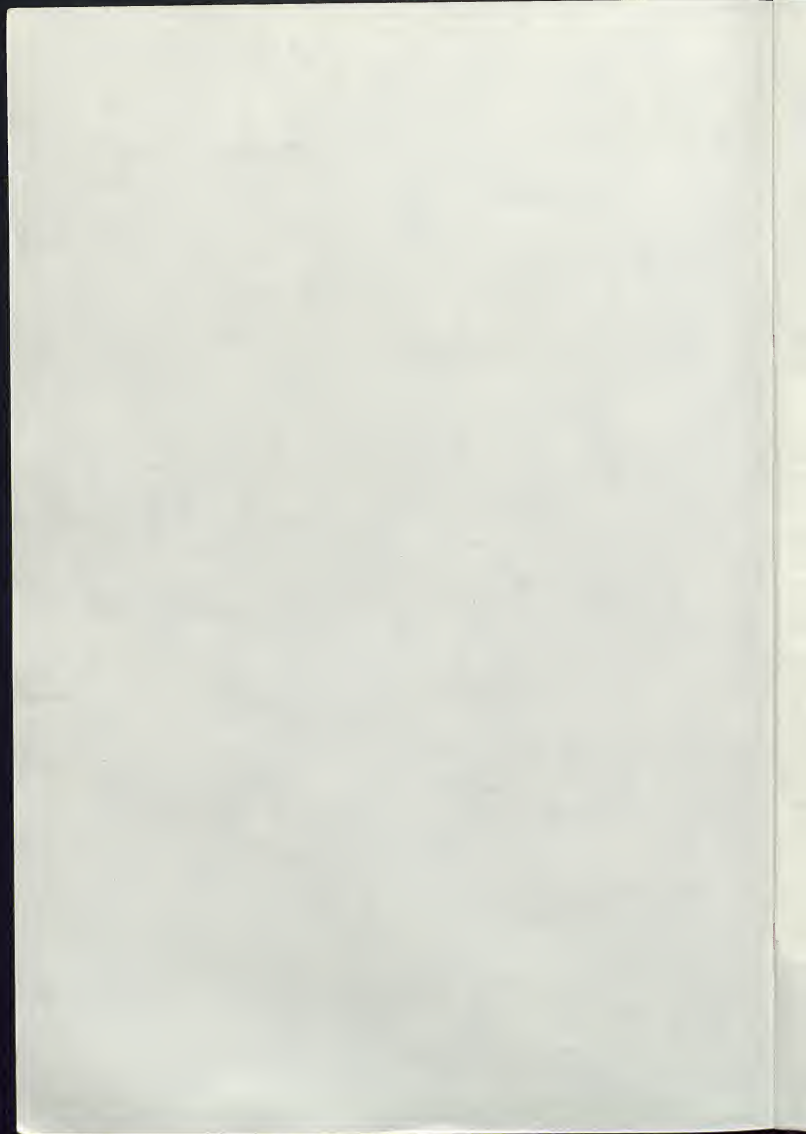
In none of the above cases was there any statistically significant difference between the distribution of the responses to the two schedules. Apart from these items to do with sentencing in Schedule-Type III the section on ways of treating first offenders was also preceded by the sections on:

- Seriousness and frequency of offences
- Changes in incidence/detection of certain crimes
- Disincentives

- none of these were connected with sentencing, none showed any significant difference in the distribution of responses between schedule-type.

The differences between Schedule-types II and III in respect of the questions on the treatment of first offenders, appear to show little more than a generally rather more positive response from those questioned on schedule-type III. There is a greater stress on reparation, institutionalisation, and reporting to the police - but also on advice and help after leaving prison, and, apparently rather incongruously, on fines for first offenders.

We are unable to make any confident interpretation of these differences, several of which are substantial, especially in the light of the absence of difference between schedule in respect of other questions relating either to sentencing or to other subjects.





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